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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science
Pl. Xn different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to
Pl. X the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long
Pl. Xn terminated; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.

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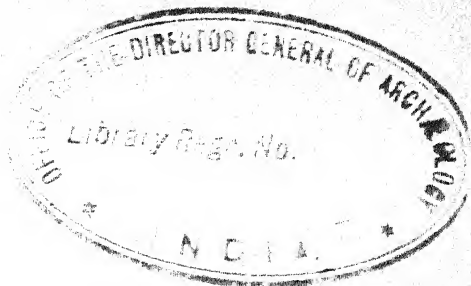
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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1878.

The Mo'allagah of Zuheyr rendered into English, with an introduction and notes.—By C. J. LYALL, C. S.

How war arose between 'Abs and Ďubyân from the Race of Dâhis : who fell therein, and who slew them : what famous Days were gained by either kin : what songs were made to tell of valiant deeds done, and what dirges over brave men that died : how the heads of Ďubyân were slain at the Cistern of el-Habâ'ah, and how 'Abs wandered forth thereafter through many strange lands : all this may be told at another season. What is now to be related is the manner in which peace was made, and the brother tribes reconciled together.

There was a certain lord of Ďubyân, by name el-Hârith son of 'Auf son of Abû Hârith, of the house of Gheyð son of Murrah son of Sa'd, great in wealth and fame among the kindred of Fezârah. He said one day to his uncle's son, Khârijeh son of Sinân—"Thinkest thou that any whose daughter I asked in marriage would deny her to me?" "Yes," he answered; "Who?" said el-Hârith. "Aus son of Hârith son of La'm of Tayyi," said Khârijeh. Then said el-Hârith to his servant—"Mount with me." So they mounted one camel together, and rode until they came to Aus son of Hârith in his own land; and they found him in his house. And when he saw el-Hârith son of 'Auf, he said—"Hail to thee, O Hârith:" "And to thee," said el-Hârith. "What has brought thee hither, O Hârith?" said Aus. "I have come a-wooing," answered he. "This is not the place for thee," said Aus, and turned his back upon him and spoke no

word more. Then Aus went in to his wife in anger. Now she was a woman of 'Abs: and she said—"Who was the man who stopped at thy door, with whom thou hadst such short speech?" He answered—"That was el-Hârith son of 'Auf son of Abû Hârith the Murri, the lord of the Arabs." "What befell thee that thou didst not bid him alight?" asked she. "He dealt foolishly with me," said he. "How so?" she asked. "He came a-wooing," he answered. "Dost thou wish to wed thy daughters?" she asked. "Yes," said he. "And if thou wilt not give one to the lord of the Arabs to wife, to whom then wilt thou wed her?" "Nay," he answered, "the thing is done." "Nay but," said she, "make amends for what thou hast done." "How?" he asked. "Follow after him and bring him back with thee." "How should I do so, when that has befallen which has befallen between me and him?" She answered—"Say to him—'Thou foundest me in anger because thou didst propound to me suddenly a matter whereof thou hadst not spoken to me before, and I was not able at the time to answer thee but as thou heardest: but now return, I pray thee, and thou shalt find with me all that thou desirest': verily he will do as thou askest." So Aus mounted and rode after those twain. "Then," (says Khârijeh son of Sinân, who was with el-Hârith and tells the tale,) "By God! I was journeying on our way, when I chanced to raise mine eyes, and saw Aus riding after us. And I went forward to el-Hârith, but he spoke nought to me by reason of the grief that was in him; and I said to him—'Here is Aus son of Hârith following us.' He answered—'And what have we to do with him? pass on.' And when Aus saw that we tarried not for him, he cried after us—'O Hârith! wait for me a moment.' So we waited for him, and he spoke to us that speech which his wife had made for him; and el-Hârith returned with him in gladness. And I heard that Aus when he went into his house said to his wife—'Call to me such an one'—naming the eldest of his three daughters; and she came forth to him. And he said to her—'O my daughter, this is el-Hârith son of 'Auf, a lord of the Arabs: he has come asking a boon, that I should wed to him one of my girls; and I purposed to wed thee to him: what sayest thou thereto?' She answered—'Do it not.' 'Why?' he asked. She said—'I am a woman uncomely in face, faulty in temper: I am not his uncle's daughter, that he should regard my kinship with him, nor is he thy neighbour in the land, that he should be ashamed before thee; and I fear lest one day he see in me something which may displease him, and divorce me, and there befall me therein what is wont to befall.' He said: 'Arise—God bless thee! Call to me such an one'—naming his second daughter: and she called her. And he spoke to her as he had spoken to her sister, and she answered him after the same fashion, saying—'I am ignorant and awkward: there is no skill in my hand. I fear lest he see in me something to

displease him, and divorce me, and there befall me therein what thou knowest. He is not mine uncle's son, that he should regard my right, nor thy neighbour in thy land, that he should be ashamed before thee.' He said: 'Arise—God bless thee! Call to me Buheyseh'—naming his youngest daughter; and she was brought to him. And he spoke to her as he had spoken to her two sisters. And she said—'As thou wilt.' He said—'Verily I offered this to thy two sisters, and they refused.' 'Nay but I,' said she (and he had not told her what the two had said), 'By God! am the fair in face, the skilful with her hands, the noble in nature, the honourable in her father; and if he divorce me, God will bring no good upon him thereafter.' And he said—'God bless thee!' Then he came forth to us and said—'I wed to thee, O Hârith, Buheyseh daughter of Aus.' 'I accept her,' said el-Hârith. Then Aus bade her mother make her ready and deck her for the wedding; and he gave command that a tent should be pitched for el-Hârith, and lodged him therein. And when his daughter was decked out, he sent her in to el-Hârith. And when she was brought in to him, he stayed but a little space, and came forth to me; and I said—'Hast thou prospered?' 'No,' said he. 'How was that?' I asked. He answered—'When I put forth my hand to take her, she said "Stay! doest thou thus before my father and my brethren? No, by God! this is not fitting!"' Then he commanded that the camels should be made ready, and we started on our way, taking her with us. And we journeyed a space; then he said to me—'Go on ahead:' and I went on; and he turned aside with her from the road. And he had tarried but a little when he joined me again; and I said—'Hast thou prospered?' 'No,' he answered. 'Why?' said I. He answered—'She said to me—"Doest thou with me as with a woman-slave that is hawked about for sale, or a captive woman taken in battle? No, by God! until thou slay the camels, and slaughter the sheep, and call the Arabs to the feast, and do all that should be done for the like of me." ' I answered—'By God! I see that she is a woman of a high spirit and understanding; and I hope that she will be to thee a wife who shall bear thee noble sons, if God will.' And we travelled on until we came to our country. And el-Hârith made ready the camels and the sheep, and prepared a feast; then he went in to her. And in a little while he came forth to me, and I asked him—'Hast thou prospered?' 'No,' said he. 'How was that?' I asked. He answered: 'I went in to her and said—"Lo! I have made ready the camels and the sheep as thou seest;" she answered me—"By God! I was told that thou hadst a nobleness which I do not see in thee." "How so?" I asked. She said—"Hast thou a light heart to wed women while the Arabs are slaying one another?" "What wouldst thou have me do?" I asked. She said—"Go forth to these thy kindred, and make peace between them: then return to thy wife, and thou shalt not miss what thou

desirest.” ‘By God!’ said I, ‘a noble and wise woman! and she has spoken a goodly word!’ And he said—‘Come forth with me’: so we went forth, and came to the two tribes, and walked between them with peace. And the peace was made on the condition that the slain should be reckoned up, and the price of the excess taken from that tribe who had slain more of the other. And we bore the burden of the bloodwits; and they were in all three thousand camels, which were paid in the space of three years. And we returned home with the fairest of fame; and el-Hârith went in to his wife, and she bore him sons and daughters.” So said Khârijev; and these two, Khârijev and el-Hârith, are the twain whom Zuheyr praises in his song. Such is the testimony of Moḥammed son of ‘Abd-el-‘Azîz el-Jauhârî.

² Now while ‘Abs and Ḍubyân were covenanting together for peace, a thing befell that came nigh to setting them at war again. ‘Abs had pitched their tents in esh-Sharabbah at a place called Qaṭan, and near them were many tents of Ḍubyân. Now there was a man of Ḍubyân, Ḥoṣeyn son of Ḍamḍam by name, whose father Ḍamḍam had been slain in the war by ‘Antarah son of Sheddâd, and his brother Herim by Ward son of Hâbis, both of the house of Ghâlib, of ‘Abs; and Ḥoṣeyn swore that he would not wash his head until he had slain Ward or some other man of the line of Ghâlib: but none knew of this oath of his. And el-Hârith son of ‘Auf son of Abû Hârith and his cousin Khârijev son of Sinân had already taken upon themselves the burden of the price of blood, and ‘Abs and Ḍubyân mixed freely together. And a man of ‘Abs, of the house of Makhzûm, came to the tent of Ḥoṣeyn son of Ḍamḍam and entered therein. “Who art thou, O Man?” said Ḥoṣeyn. “Of ‘Abs,” said he; and Ḥoṣeyn did not cease to ask his lineage until he found that he was of the house of Ghâlib; and he slew him. And news of this came to el-Hârith son of ‘Auf and Herim son of Sinân his cousin, and it was grievous to them. And the news came also to the men of ‘Abs, and they mounted and rode in a body towards el-Hârith’s tent. And when el-Hârith heard of the anger that was in their hearts, and how they purposed to slay him in requital for the death of their brother, (for Ḥoṣeyn son of Ḍamḍam was also of the line of Murrah, as was el-Hârith son of ‘Auf,) he sent to meet them a hundred camels, and with them his son, and said to the messenger—“Say to them—‘Are the camels dearer to you, or your own lives?’” And the messenger went forth to meet them, and spoke after this wise. And er-Rabî son of Ziyâd, who was the leader of ‘Abs in that day (—³ for Qeys son of Zuheyr, their chief in the war, though he counselled the peace, yet took no part therein himself, but withdrew from his kin and went away to ‘Omân, where he became a Christian and spent the remainder of his days in prayer and repentance: for he said—“By God! never again can I look

in the face a woman of Ghatafân: for verily I have slain her father or her brother or some other dear to her")—er-Rabî' cried to his following—"O my people! your brother has sent you this message—'Are the camels dearer to you, or will ye rather take my son and slay him in the stead of your slain?' " And they said—"We will take the camels and be reconciled, and conclude our covenant of peace." So peace was made, and el-Hârith and Herim gained the more praise.

And Zuheyr made this song to tell of the noble deeds of el-Hârith and Khârijeh, and the rest of the house of Gheyṣ son of Murrah: for all shared in the peace-making, though the leaders therein were el-Hârith and Khârijeh.

أَمِنْ أَوْ قِي دَمْدَمَةٌ لَمْ تَكَلِّمْ
بُحُومَانَةَ الدَّرَاجِ وَالْمَتَلِّمِ
وَدَارُ لَهَا بِالرَّقَمَتَيْنِ كَانَهَا
مَرَّاجِيعُ وَشَمٍ فِي نَوَاشِرِ مَعْصَمِ
بِهَا الْعَيْنُ وَالْإِرَامُ يَمْشِينَ خَلْفَةً
وَاطْلَافُهَا يَنْهَضُ مِنْ كُلِّ مَجْثَمِ
وَقَفْتُ بِهَا مِنْ بَعْدِ عَشْرِينَ حِجَّةً
فَلَايَا عَرَفْتُ الدَّارَ بَعْدَ تَوَهُمِ
أَتَانِي سَفْعًا فِي مَعْرَسِ مَرْجَلِ
وَفُؤْيَا كَجَدِمِ الْخَوْضِ لَمْ يَتَلَّمِ
فَلَمَّا عَرَفْتُ الدَّارَ قُلْتُ لِرَبِيعِهَا
أَلَا أَنْعِمُ صَبَاحًا أَيُّهَا الرِّبْعُ وَأَسْلَمِ
تَبَصَّرَ خَائِلِي هَلْ تَرَى مِنْ ظَعَائِنِ
تَكْمَلُنَ بِالْعَلِيَاءِ مِنْ فَوْقِ جُرْنِ
عَلُونَ بِأَنْمَاطِ عَتَاقٍ وَكَلَّةِ
وَرَادَ حَوَاشِيَهَا مُشَاكَّةِ الدَّمِ
وَزَلْنِ فِي السُّوْبَانِ يَعْلُونَ مَتْنَهُ
عَلَيْهِنَّ دَلُّ النَّاعِمِ الْمَتْنَعِمِ
بَكْرُنَ بَكُورًا وَاسْتَحْكِرْنَ بِسُحْرَةِ
فَهْنِ لَوَادِي الرِّسِّ كَالْيَدِ لِلْقَمِ
وَفِيهِنَّ مَلْهُىً لِلطَّيْفِ وَمَنْظَرِ
أَنْبِيقِ لِعَيْنِ النَّظَرِ الْمَتَوَسِّمِ
كَانَ فُتَاتَ الْعَهْنِ فِي كُلِّ مَذَلِ
نَزَلْنَ بِهِ حَبِّ الْقَنَّا لَمْ يُحْطَمِ
فَلَمَّا وَدْنَ الْمَاءَ زُرْقًا جَمَامَهُ
وَضَعْنَ عَصِيَّ الْحَاضِرِ الْمَتَّحِمِ
جَعَلْنَ الْقَنَانَ عَنْ يَمِينِ وَحَرْنَهُ
وَكَمْ بِالْقَنَانِ مِنْ مُحِلٍّ وَمَحْرَمِ

١٥ ظَهَرْنَ مِنَ السُّبُحَانِ ثُمَّ جَزَعْنَهُ عَلَى كُلِّ قَيْنِي قَشِيبٍ وَمَقَامٍ

فَأَقْسَمْتُ بِالْبَيْتِ الَّذِي طَافَ حَوْلَهُ رَجَالُ بَنُوهُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ وَجَرَهُمْ
يَمِينًا لَنَعْمَ السَّيِّدَانِ وَجَدْتُمَا عَلَيَّ كُلِّ حَالٍ مِنْ سَجِيلٍ وَمَبْرَمٍ
سَعَى سَاعِيَا غِيْظَ بَنٍ مُرَّةً بَعْدَ مَا تَبَزَّلَ مَا بَيْنَ الْعَشِيرَةِ بِالْأَمِّ
تَدَارَكْتُمَا عَبَسًا وَذُبْيَانٍ بَعْدَ مَا تَفَانُوا وَدَقُّوا بَيْنَهُمْ عَطَرَ مَنْشَمٍ
٢٠ وَقَدْ قُلْتُمَا إِنْ نَذَرَكَ السَّلَمُ وَأَسْعَا بِمَالٍ وَمَعْرُوفٍ مِنَ الْقَوْلِ نَسَلَمَ
فَأَصْبَحْتُمَا مِنْهَا عَلَى خَيْرِ مَوْطِنٍ بَعِيدَيْنِ فِيهَا مِنْ عُقُوقٍ وَمَأْتَمٍ
عَظِيمَيْنِ فِي عَلِيَا مَعَدَّ هَدَيْنَا وَمَنْ يَسْتَبِجُ كَنْزًا مِنَ الْمَجْدِ يَعْظُمُ
نَعْفَى الْكَلُومِ بِالْمُنَيْنِ فَأَصْبَحْتَ يَنْجُمَهَا مِنْ لَيْسَ فِيهَا بِمُجْرِمٍ
يَنْجُمَهَا قَوْمٌ لِقَوْمٍ غَرَامَةً وَلَمْ يَهْرَبُوا بَيْنَهُمْ مَلًا مُحْجَمٍ
٢٥ فَأَصْبَحَ يُجْرِي فِيهِمْ مِنْ تِلَادِكُمْ مَغَانِمُ شَتَّى مِنْ أَفَالٍ مُزْنَمٍ

أَلَا أَبْلُغُ الْأَحْلَافَ عَنِّي رِسَالَةً وَذُبْيَانٍ هَلْ أَقْسَمْتُ كُلَّ مَقْسَمٍ
فَلَا تَكْتُمَنَّ اللَّهُ مَا فِي صُدُورِكُمْ لِيَخْفِيَ وَمَهْمَا يَكْتُمُ اللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ
يُؤَخَّرُ فَيُوضَعُ فِي كِتَابٍ وَيُنْذَرُ لِيَوْمِ الْحِسَابِ أَوْ يَعْجَلُ فَيُنْقَمُ
وَمَا الْحَرْبُ إِلَّا مَا عَلِمْتُمْ وَدَقُّكُمْ وَمَا هُوَ عَنْهَا بِالْحَدِيثِ الْمَرْجَمِ
٣٠ مَتَى تَبْعُدُوهَا تَبْعُدُوهَا ذَمِيمَةً وَتَضْرِي أَدَا ضَرْبُهَا فَتَضْرِمُ
فَتَعْرِكُ عَرَكُ الرَّحَى بِثِفَالِهَا وَتَلْقَحُ كَشَافًا لَمْ تَنْجُ فَنَنْجُمُ

فَتَنَجَّ لَكُمْ غِلْمَانُ أَشْأَمَ كُلِّهِمْ كَاخْمَرِ عَادٍ ثُمَّ تَرْضَعُ فَتَقْطُمِ
فَتَغْلِلُ لَكُمْ مَا لَا تَغْلِلُ لِأَهْلِهَا قُرَى بِالْعِرَاقِ مِنْ قَفِيزٍ وَدِرْهِمِ

لَعَمْرِي لَنَعَمَ الْحَيُّ جَرَّ عَلَيْهِمْ بِمَا لَا يُؤَاتِيهِمْ حُصَيْنُ بْنُ ضَمَضَمِ
وَكَانَ طَوِيَّ كَشْحًا عَلَى مُسْتَكْنَةٍ فَلَا هُوَ أَبْدَاهَا وَلَمْ يَتَقَدَّمِ
وَقَالَ سَأُقْضِي حَاجَتِي ثُمَّ أَتَقِيَّ عَدُوِّي بِأَلْفٍ مِنْ دَرَاهِمٍ مُلْجَمِ
فَشَدَّ وَلَمْ يُفْرِغْ بَيُوتًا كَثِيرَةً لَدَى حَيْثُ أَلْقَتْ رَحْلَهَا أَمْ قَشَعَمِ
لَدَى أَسَدٍ شَاكِي السِّلَاحِ مُقَدَّفِ لَهُ لَبَدٌ أَظْفَارُهُ لَمْ تَقْلَمِ
جَرِي مَتَى يَظْلَمُ يَعَاتِبُ بِظُلْمِهِ سَرِيعًا وَإِنْ لَا يَبْدُ بِالظُّلْمِ يَظْلَمِ

عُرُوا ظَمَأَهُمْ حَتَّى إِذَا تَمَّ أَوْرَدُوا غِمَارًا تَقَرَّى بِالسِّلَاحِ وَبِالدَّمِ
فَقَضَوْا مَنَازِلًا بَيْنَهُمْ ثُمَّ أَصْدَرُوا إِلَى كَلٍّ مُسْتَوِيلٍ مَتَوَخَّمِ
لَعَمْرُكَ مَا جَرَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ رِمَاحُهُمْ دَمَ ابْنِ نَيْبِكَ أَوْ قَتِيلِ الْمَثَلَمِ
وَلَا شَارَكَتْ فِي الْمَوْتِ فِي دَمِ نَوَافِلِ وَلَا وَهَبَ مِنْهَا وَلَا ابْنَ الْمُخَزَمِ
فَقَلَّ أَرَاهُمْ أَصْبَحُوا يَعْقِلُونَهُ صَحِيحَاتِ مَالٍ طَالِعَاتِ بِمُخَرِّمِ
وَلَحَى حِلَالٍ يَعَصِمُ النَّاسُ أَمْرَهُمْ إِذَا طَرَقَتْ إِحْدَى اللَّيَالِي بِمُعْظَمِ
كَرَامٍ فَلَا ذُو الضَّغْنِ يُدْرِكُ تَبْلَهُ لَدَيْهِمْ وَلَا الْجَنَانِي عَلَيْهِمْ بِمُسْلَمِ

سَدِمْتُ تَكَلِّيفَ الْحَيَاةِ وَمَنْ يَعِشْ ثَمَانِينَ حَوْلًا لَا أَبَا لَكَ يَسَامِ

وَأَعْلَمَ مَا فِي الْيَوْمِ وَالْأَمْسِ قَبْلَهُ ۖ وَلَكِنِّي عَنْ عِلْمِ مَا فِي غَدٍ عَمِ
رَأَيْتُ الْمَنَايَا خَبَطَ عَشْوَاهُ مَنْ تَصَبَّ ۖ تَمَنَّهُ وَمَنْ نُحْطِئُ يَعْمُرُ فِيهِمْ
۝ وَمَنْ لَا يَصْنَعُ فِي أُمُورٍ كَثِيرَةٍ ۖ يَضْرُسُ بِأَنْيَابٍ وَيُوطَأُ بِمَنَسِمِ
وَمَنْ يَجْعَلُ الْمَعْرُوفَ مِنْ دُونِ عَرْضِهِ ۖ يَفْرُغُ وَمَنْ لَا يَتَّقِ الشَّقَّ يَشْتَمِ
وَمَنْ يَكُ ذَا فَضْلٍ فَيَبْخُلُ بِفَضْلِهِ ۖ عَلَى قَوْمِهِ يَسْتَعْنِ عِذَهُ وَيُدْمِمِ
وَمَنْ يُوفِ لَا يُدْمِمُ ۖ وَمَنْ يَهْدِ قَلْبَهُ ۖ إِلَى مُطْمَئِنَّ الْبَرِّ لَا يَنْجَحِجِمِ
وَمَنْ هَابَ أَسْبَابَ الْمَنَايَا يَذَلُّهُ ۖ وَلَوْ يَرِقُ أَسْبَابَ السَّمَاءِ بِسَلَمِ
۝ وَمَنْ يَجْعَلُ الْمَعْرُوفَ فِي غَيْرِ أَهْلِهِ ۖ يَكُنْ حَمْدُهُ ذِمًّا عَلَيْهِ وَيَذْدَمِ
وَمَنْ يَعْصِ أَطْرَافَ الزَّجَاجِ فَانَّهُ ۖ يُطْبِعُ الْعَوَالِي رُبَيْتَ كُلِّ لَهْدَمِ
وَمَنْ لَا يَدُدُ عَنْ حَوْضِهِ بِسَلَاحِهِ ۖ يَهْدَمُ وَمَنْ لَا يَظْلِمُ النَّاسَ يَظْلَمِ
وَمَنْ يَغْتَرِبُ يَحْسَبُ عَدُوًّا صَدِيقَهُ ۖ وَمَنْ لَا يُكْرِمُ نَفْسَهُ لَا يَكْرِمِ
وَمَنْ لَمْ يَزَلْ يَسْتَرْحِلُ النَّاسَ نَفْسَهُ ۖ وَلَا يَعْنِيهَا يَوْمًا مِنَ الذَّلِّ يَذْمِ
۝ وَمَهْمَا تَكُنْ عِنْدَ امْرِئٍ مِنْ خَلِيقَةٍ ۖ وَإِنْ خَالَهَا تَخْفَى عَلَيِ الْغَالِ تَعْلَمِ
وَكَاثِنٌ تَرَى مِنْ صَامِتٍ لَكَ مُعْجِبِ ۖ زِيَادَتُهُ أَوْ نَقْصُهُ فِي التَّكَلُّمِ
لِسَانُ الْفَتَى نَصْفٌ وَنَصْفٌ فَوَادُهُ ۖ فَلَمْ يَبْقَ إِلَّا صَوْرَةُ الْحَكَمِ وَالْهَمِ
وَأَنْ سَفَاةَ الشَّيْخِ لَا حِلْمَ بَعْدَهُ ۖ وَإِنْ الْفَتَى بَعْدَ السَّفَاعَةِ يَحْلُمِ

سَأَلْنَا فَأَعْطَيْتُمْ ۖ وَعَدْنَا وَعَدْتُمْ ۖ وَمَنْ أَذْكَرُ النَّسْلِ يَوْمًا سَيَحْرِمِ

ARGUMENT.

In vv. 1—15 the poet, after the fashion of his fellows, strives to touch the hearts of his hearers and to prepare them to receive kindly what he has to say on his real theme by the mention of women and the deserted pasture-grounds which the tribesmen leave at the end of Spring; Umm Aufâ was his wife: she bore him, we learn, many children, who all died young, and one day in an angry mood he divorced her. Afterwards he repented of his deed, and prayed her to return to him, but she would not.

Then he turns to praise the two who made the peace and bore the burden of the price of blood (vv. 16—25). After that he exhorts the two tribes (vv. 26—33) to keep faithfully their pact of peace, and after what they have known of War, to stir her not up again. Then he tells of the deed of Hoşeyn son of Damdam, how he slew his enemy while the two peoples were making ready the peace (vv. 34—39). Then by a figure he relates how the senseless war broke out afresh, and more blood was spilt; for which again the House of Gheyð paid from their herds, though themselves without blame (vv. 40—46).

What follows would seem to be a store of maxims of life and conduct, some of which are wanting in certain recensions of the poem, and all do not appear to be here appropriate; nevertheless many of them seem clearly to touch upon the generous deed of the Peace-makers, and to be meant to praise them and to set them as an example to men. In the last verse he warns those who heard him that though noble men may pay for misdoers once and again, the time will come when the thankless shall find none to bear the burden of his guilt.

I.

- 1 Are they of Umm Aufâ's tents—these black lines that speak no word
in the stony plain of el-Mutathellem and ed-Darrâj?
- 2 Yea, and the place where her camp stood in er-Raqmatân is now
like the tracery drawn afresh by the veins of the inner wrist.
- 3 The wild kine roam there large-eyed, and the deer pass to and fro,
and their younglings rise up to suck from the spots where they lie
all round.
- 4 I stood there and gazed: since I saw it last twenty years had flown,
and much I pondered thereon: hard was it to know again—
- 5 The black stones in order laid in the place where the pot was set,
and the trench like a cistern's root with its sides unbroken still.
- 6 And when I knew it at last for her resting-place, I cried—
'Good greeting to thee, O House—fair peace in the morn to thee!'
- 7 Look forth, O Friend—canst thou see aught of ladies camel-borne
that journey along the upland there above Jurthum well?
- 8 Their litters are hung with precious stuffs, and thin veils thereon
cast loosely, their borders rose, as though they were dyed in blood.
- 9 Sideways they sat as their beasts clomb the ridge of es-Sûbân
—in them were the sweetness and grace of one nourished in wealth
and ease.

- 10 They went on their way at dawn—they started before sunrise :
 straight did they make for the vale of er-Rass as hand for mouth.
 11 Dainty and playful their mood to one who should try its worth,
 and faces fair to an eye skilled to trace out loveliness.
 12 And the tassels of scarlet wool in the spots where they gat them down
 glowed red like to *'ishriq* seeds, fresh-fallen, unbroken, bright.
 13 And when they reached the wells where the deep blue water lies,
 they cast down their staves and set them to pitch the tents for rest.
 14 On their right hand rose el-Qanân and the rugged skirts thereof—
 and in el-Qanân how many are foes and friends of mine !
 15 At eve they left es-Sûbân : then they crossed its ridge again
 borne on the fair-fashioned litters, all new and builded broad.

II.

- 16 I swear by the Holy House which worshippers circle round—
 the men by whose hands it rose, of Jurhum and of Qureysh—
 17 How goodly are ye, our Lords, ye twain who are found by men
 good helpers in every case, be it easy to loose or hard !
 18 Busily wrought they for peace, those two of Gheyð, Murrah's son,
 when the kin had been rent in twain and its friendship sunk in
 blood.
 19 Ye healed 'Abs and Ðubyân's breach when the twain were well-nigh
 spent,
 and between them the deadly perfume of Menshim was work-
 ing hate.
 20 Ye said—' If we set our hands to Peace, base it broad and firm
 by the giving of gifts and fair words of friendship, all will be well.'
 21 And ye steadfastly took your stand thereon in the best of steads,
 far away from unbrotherliness and the bitter result of wrong.
 22 Yea, glory ye gained in Ma'add, the highest—God guide you right !
 who gains without blame a treasure of glory, how great is he !
 23 The wounds of the kindred were healed with hundreds of camels good :
 he paid them forth troop by troop who had no part in the crime ;
 24 Kin paid them forth to kin as a debt due from friend to friend,
 and they spilt not between them so much as a cupper's cup full of
 blood.
 25 Among them went forth, your gift, of the best of your fathers' store,
 fair spoils, young camels a many, slit-eared, of goodly breed.

III.

- 26 Ho ! carry my message true to the tribesmen together leagued
and Ďubyân—Have ye sworn all that ye took upon you to swear ?
27 It boots not to hide from God aught evil within your breasts :
it will not be hid—what men would hold back from God, He knows.
28 It may be its meed comes late : in the Book is the wrong set down
for the Reckoning Day ; it may be that vengeance is swift and
stern.
29 And War is not aught but what ye know well and have tasted off :
not of her are the tales ye tell a doubtful or idle thing.
30 When ye set her on foot, ye start her with words of little praise ;
but the mind for her grows with her growth, till she bursts into
blazing flame.
31 She will grind you as grist of the mill that falls on the skin beneath ;
year by year shall her womb conceive, and the fruit thereof shall
32 Yea, boys shall she bear you, all of ill omen, eviller [be twins :
than Aḥmar of 'Âd : then suckling and weaning shall bring their
33 Such harvest of bitter grain shall spring as their lords reap not [gain :
from acres in el-'Irâq of bushels of corn and gold.

IV.

- 34 Yea, verily good is the kin, and unmeet the deed of wrong
Hoṣeyn son of Ďamḍam wrought against them, a murder foul !
35 He hid deep within his heart his bloody intent, nor told
to any his purpose, till the moment to do was come.
36 He said—' I will work my will, and then shall there gird me round
and shield me from those I hate a thousand stout cavalry.'
37 So he slew : no alarm he raised where the tents stood peacefully,
though there in their midst the Vulture-mother had entered in
38 To dwell with a lion fierce, a bulwark for men in fight,
a lion with angry mane upbristled, sharp tooth and claw,
39 Fearless : when one him wrongs, he sets him to vengeance straight,
unfaltering : when no wrong lights on him, 'tis he that wrongs.

V.

- 40 They pastured their camels athirst, until when the time was ripe
they drove them to pools all cloven with weapons and plashed with
blood ;

- 41 They led through their midst the Dooms : then they drove them forth
again
to the pasture rank and heavy, till their thirst should grow anew.
- 42 But *their* lances—by thy life ! were guilty of none that fell :
Nehik's son died not by them, nor by them el-Muthellem's slain ;
- 43 Nor had they in Naufal's death part or share, nor by their hand
did Wahab lie slain, nor by them fell el-Mukhazzem's son.
- 44 Yet for each of those that died did they pay the price of blood—
good camels unblemished that climb in a row by the upland road
- 45 To where dwells a kin great of heart, whose word is enough to shield
whom they shelter when peril comes in a night of fierce strife and
storm ;
- 46 Yea, noble are they ! the seeker of vengeance gains not from them
the blood of his foe, nor is he that wrongs them left without help.

VI.

- 47 Aweary am I of life's toil and travail : he who like me
has seen pass of years fourscore, well may he be sick of life !
- 48 I know what To-day unfolds, what before it was Yesterday ;
but blind do I stand before the knowledge To-morrow brings.
- 49 I have seen the Dooms trample men as a blind beast at random treads
—whom they smote, he died : whom they missed, he lived on to
strengthless eld.
- 50 Who gathers not friends by help in many a case of need
is torn by the blind beast's teeth, or trodden beneath its foot.
- 51 And he who his honour shields by the doing of kindly deed
grows richer : who shuts not the mouth of reviling, it lights on him.
- 52 And he who is lord of wealth and is niggardly with his hoard
alone is he left by his kin : nought have they for him but blame.
- 53 Who keeps faith, no blame he earns : and that man whose heart is led
to goodness unmix'd with guile gains freedom and peace of soul.
- 54 Who trembles before the Dooms, yea, him shall they surely seize,
albeit he set in his dread a ladder to climb the sky.
- 55 Who spends on unworthy men his kindness with lavish hand,
no praise does he earn, but blame, and repentance the end thereof.
- 56 Who will not yield to the spears when their feet turn to him in peace
shall yield to the points thereof, and the long flashing blades of
steel.
- 57 Who holds not his foe away from his cistern with sword and spear,
it is broken and spoiled : who uses not roughness, him shall men
wrong.

true, it would be an important datum for fixing the year in which the peace was made; but it is not consistent with the other facts of the history. The date of the peace is fixed by M. Caussin de Perceval, on grounds of great probability, at from 608 to 610 A. D. (Essai, ii. p. 499); it was not till the 8th year of the Hijrah (629—639 A. D.) that 'Abs and 'Ābyān embraced el-Islām (*ib.* iii, p. 218). According to the 'Iqd el-Ferid of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, quoted by M. Fresnel (*Journ. Asiatique*, 3me série, iv. p. 20), the two persons whom Zuheyr praises in his Mo'allaqah are 'Auf and Ma'qil, sons of Subey' son of 'Amr, of the line of Tha'lebeh ibn Sa'd. These two did indeed, according to el-Meydānī, make peace between 'Abs and their own tribe of the Benū Tha'lebeh, who at first refused to join the rest of 'Ābyān in the engagement; but it is impossible to regard them as the two praised by Zuheyr if v. 18 is genuine, inasmuch as they were not of the line of Gheyḍ son of Murrah.

The name of the man who was slain by Ḥoseyn son of Ḍamḍam is given by el-Meydānī and the 'Iqd as Tijān. 'Antarah slew Ḍamḍam, Ḥoseyn's father, on the Day of el-Mureyqib, one of the earliest battles of the war (Fresnel, *loc. cit.* p. 6), and Ward son of Hābis slew Herim, Ḥoseyn's brother, on the Day of el-Ya'muriyyeh, immediately after the slaying of the hostages by Ḥoḍeyfeh (Aghānī, xvi. 30). Between these two dates 'Antarah composed his Mo'allaqah, in vv. 73—75 of which he mentions Ḍamḍam as slain by his hand, and the two sons as still alive.

It is worthy of notice that the Mo'allaqah, in vv. 40—46, (if those verses are rightly placed,) seems to tell of a graver dissension as having arisen out of Ḥoseyn's violent deed than that which this tradition relates; for it would appear that the renewal of strife which followed it was the occasion when the slain men named in vv. 42 and 43 (said in the commentary to be all of 'Abs) met their death; and that some bloodshed ensued seems certain from the metaphor in vv. 40—41, where the camels, (that is, the fighting men,) after a *ḥim'*, or period of thirst, are said to have been led down again to drink of the pools of Death. The *ḥim'* was probably the truce during which peace was being arranged.

* This parenthesis, telling of the end of Qeys son of Zuheyr, is founded on the testimony of Ibn el-Athār, who is believed generally to follow Abū 'Obeydeh (Kāmil i. p. 434.), and et-Tebrizī (Ḥamāseh, p. 223); it is vouched for by a poem by a man of 'Abs, Bishr son of Ubayy son of Ḥomām, quoted in the Ḥamāseh, where it is said of the horses that ran in the Race of Dāḥis—

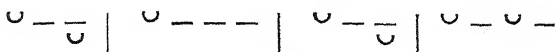
جَلَبَيْنَ بِأَذْنِ اللَّهِ مَقْتَلَ مَالِكٍ وَطَرَحْنَ قَيْسًا مِنْ وَرَاءِ عُمَانٍ

"They brought to pass—so God willed—the spilling of Mālik's blood,
and cast Qeys away forlorn an exile in far 'Omān."

* This paragraph is mine, and expresses what seems to me the most probable view to take of the case. I should add that besides el-Hārith, Herim, and Khārijeh, another pair of the house of Gheyḍ are mentioned in the 'Iqd (*Journ. Asiat.*, Juillet 1837, p. 18) as having exerted themselves to establish peace between 'Abs and 'Ābyān, *viz.* Ḥarmaleh son of el-Ash'ar and his son Ḥāshim.

NOTES TO THE MO'ALLAQAH.

The measure of the poem is the noble cadence called the *Tawīl*, most loved of all by the ancient poets. Each hemistich consists of four feet, arranged thus—



(In the second foot the third syllable is occasionally, but rarely, short: the only instances of a short third syllable in the 128 hemistichs of this poem are v. 14, *a* and *b*, v. 28, *b*, and v. 33, *b*; it is observable that it most frequently occurs with proper names.)

In the English an attempt has been made to imitate the metre of the original. The measure adopted is not absolutely unknown in our language; it is to be found in many lines of that wonderful organ-swell, Browning's *Abt Vogler*; the seventh stanza of that poem in particular is almost entirely in the *Tawil*. The following lines are exactly the Arabic cadence—

“Existent behind all laws, that made them and, lo, they are!”

“And, there! Ye have heard and seen: consider and bow the head!”

Other verses of the same stanza exhibit the licences which I have found it necessary to take with the metre to adapt it to the English; these are chiefly the following:—

- (1.) Dropping the first short syllable, as in v. 10, *b*, 11, *a*.

This is a licence which the Arabs themselves allow, but only (except in a few doubtful instances) at the commencement of a poem. It is matched by Browning's—

“Give it to me to use! I mix it with two in my thought.”

- (2.) Addition of a short syllable at the beginning of a foot, as in v. 12, *a*; so in Browning—

“And I know not if, save in this, such gift be allowed to man.”

- (3.) Exchanging the one long third syllable of the second foot for two short, as in v. 4, *a* and *b*; so Browning—

“But here is the finger of God, a flash of the Will that can.”

- (4.) Changing $\cup \text{ — — }$ into $\overline{\cup} \cup \text{ — }$ in the third foot, as in v. 9, *a*, v. 11, *b*; compare Browning's—

“That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a Star.”

The text above given and translated is that of Arnold (Leipzig, 1850), with two slight amendments in the vocalization of v. 3 *b* and v. 59 *b*, and the substitution of *lau* for *in* in v. 54 *b*; of these the last two are indicated in Arnold's notes, pp. 23 and 24, and the first is adopted from ez-Zauzenf. Arnold's recension agrees in the text and arrangement of the verses with ez-Zauzenf's, except in v. 59, which the latter entirely omits.

Another recension is to be found in Ahlwardt, *Six Poets*, pp. 94 *seq.*; this is based on the MSS. of Gotha and Paris: it differs from Arnold's chiefly in the arrangement of the verses in the *tashbib* describing the journey of the ladies, and in the omission of several of the maxims which follow v. 49 and the arrangement of those which it retains. The following is the order of the verses in Ahlwardt's recension as compared with Arnold's, the numbers of the verses being those of the latter and the arrangement that of the former:—

1—8, (9 omitted) 11, 10, 14—15, 12—13, 18, 16—17, 19—22, 25, 23—24, 26—44 *a*, (after which Ahlwardt inserts a second hemistich which is not in Arnold, and commences the next verse with a first hemistich which is also wanting in the latter. Arnold's 44 *b* agrees with Ahlwardt's 44 *b*.) 45—47, 49, 48, 50, 52, 51, 57, 54, 56, 53, 58, 60, 59. vv. 55 and 61—64 are omitted; they will be found in the Appendix, p. 192.

Of the two main differences above mentioned, it must be admitted that the arrangement of the verses describing the journey reads more smoothly and consecutively in Ahlwardt's text than in Arnold's; perhaps this is rather a reason for suspecting the hand of a later adjuster than for rejecting the more difficult order: in such a matter however no critical judgment is worth much. The second difference, the omission of vv. 55 and 61—64 among the sententious utterances which close the poem, seems to be also generally in favour of Ahlwardt; v. 55 might, as he suggests (*Bemerkungen über die Aechtheit &c.*, p. 64), find its proper place after v. 51. Of the last four verses of Arnold I would retain v. 64, which seems a fitting close of the poem, and appropriate to the tradition (of two payments by the Peace-makers) with which it is connected; the other three are clearly out of place where they stand, and belong to another poem (perhaps two others), whether by Zuheyr or some other poet.

Among the minor differences of arrangement, Ahlwardt's text seems to err in placing v. 18 before vv. 16—17; v. 16 appears clearly to be the opening of the real theme, and the change of person in v. 18 (called *iltifât*) is of frequent occurrence in the old poetry and offers no difficulty. Of the transposition of v. 25 there is little to be said one way or the other. The additions in Ahlwardt after v. 44 *a* are evidently to be rejected, the second inserted hemistich being a mere echo of v. 24 *a*.

Of textual differences there are few of much importance; in v. 11 *a*, Ahlwardt reads *li-ṣ-ṣadīqi for li-l-latīfi*: in v. 14 *b*, *wa mau* for *wa kam*: in v. 15 *b*, *mufa'ami* for *wa muf'ami*: in v. 20 *b*, *mina-l-'amri* for *mina-l-qawli*: in v. 22 *a*, *wa gheyrihâ* for *hudi-tumâ*: in v. 25 *b*, *ifâli-l-Muzennemi* for *ifâlin muzennemi* (see note below on this verse): in v. 26 *a*, *faman mublighu* for *alâ 'ablighi*: in v. 27 *a*, *tektumenna* (wrongly) for *tektu-munna*, and *nufâsikum* for *ṣudûrikum* (last better): in v. 31 *b*, *tahmil* for *tuntej* (last better): in v. 35 *b*, *yetejemjemi* for *yetaqaddemi*: in v. 37 *a*, *tefzâ'* *buyûtan kethîretun* for *yufzî'* *buyûtan kethîretan* (last preferable): in v. 40 *a*, *ra'au mâ ra'au min ḥîm'ihim thumma* for *ra'au ḥîm'ahum hattâ ifâ temma*, and *b*, *teslu bir-rimâhi* for *tefarrâ bis-silâhi* (last preferable metrically): in v. 43 *a*, *shârahâ ḥ-l-qâumi* for *shârahket ḥ-l-mauti*: in v. 45 *b*, *ḥâlâ'at* for *ḥarâket* (last preferable, since the former unnecessarily repeats the *ḥâlâ'âtin* of v. 44 *b*): in v. 46 *a*, *ḥu-l-witri yudriku witraku* for *ḥu-d-ḡighni yudriku tel-lahu*: in v. 54 *a*, *el-meniyyeti yelqahâ* for *el-meniyyâ yenehnuhu*, and *b*, *râma* for *yerga*: in v. 58 *a*, *yufdi* for *yuhda*: in v. 60, *b*, *wa lau* for *wa in*: in v. 59, for our reading Ahlwardt has the following—

*wa man lam yezel yestahmilu-n-nâsa nefṣahu,
walâ yughnihâ yauman mina-d-dahri, yus'ami :*

in v. 63 *b*, (Appendix p. 192,) *yahlumu* (right: see note below) for *yahlumi*: in v. 64 *b*, *sayohramu* for *sayohrami* (both are equally right grammatically, but the former would be an *iqwâ* if the verse really belongs to this poem).

The verses of the *Mo'allakah* quoted in the *Aghânî* are the following:—

together on p. 146, Vol. ix, —vv. 1, 3, 4, 6, 56, 54 (in the last verse Ahlwardt's reading, not Arnold's, is given):

on p. 148, γ. 18:

on p. 150, vv. 18, 25 (*ifûli-l-Muzennemi*, in accordance with Abû 'Obeydeh's reading), 24:

on p. 154, v. 60 (with the story of this verse having been quoted by 'Othmân son of 'Affân).

The translation offered is as literal as I have found it possible to make it consistently with English idiom and the rhythm; where it seemed necessary, I have explained deviations from absolute literalness in the notes: where the change of phrase was slight, I have not thought it needful to notice it. Thus in v. 3, *a, khilfetan* is not "to and fro," but "one after another": in v. 32, "Boys shall she bear you, of ill omen, all of them like Ahmar of 'Ad," is the word-for-word rendering. I have not however consciously anywhere departed from the sense of the original, and but seldom from the phrase. Of other translations, the only ones I have seen are that by M. Caussin de Perceval, at pp. 531—536 of Vol. ii of his *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, and that by Rückert (which omits the *teshbbib*) at pp. 147—150 of the first volume of his translation of the *Hamâsch*; the translation by Sir W. Jones, which I believe to be the only one before published in English, I have not been able to consult.

v. 1. El-Mutathellēm (according to the Marâsid, el-Mutathellīm) is a hill in the high land stretching East of the northern Hîjâz, in the country of the Benû Murrah of Ghatafân; it is mentioned in 'Antarah's Mo'allakah, v. 4, in connection with el-Hazn and eṣ-Ṣammân. Of ed-Darrâj no particular information is given in the Marâsid.

v. 2. "Er-Raqmatân": according to ez-Zauzenî two places are meant by this name, which is the dual of *er-raqmeh*, a word meaning "the meadow" (*raqdâh*); he says that one village called er-Raqmeh is near el-Baṣrah, and another of the same name near el-Medīneh: they are thus far distant one from another. *Raqmeh* however means, besides a meadow, the side of a valley, or the place in it where water collects; it seems more probable from the way in which the name is used that one place, not two, is intended; the same name, in the same dual form, occurs in a lament by a woman of Ghatafân over the death of Mâlik son of Bedr given in the Aghânî (xvi, p. 30)—

إِذَا سَجَعْتَ بِالرَّقَمَيْنِ حَمَامَةً أَوْ الرَّسِ فَبَيْكِ فَارِسَ الْكَتَفَانِ .

"So long as a turtle moans in the groves of er-Raqmatân
or er-Rass, so long weep thou for him that rode el-Ketefân."

The second hemistich of this verse gives concisely a simile for the water-worn traces of the tents which is found in a more expanded form in Lebid's Mo'allakah, vv. 8 and 9, q. v. The tattooing over the veins of the inner wrist is said to be renewed, because the torrents have scored deeply certain of the trenches dug round the tents, while others that did not lie in the path of the flood have become only faintly marked, like the veins beneath the tracery.

v. 3. "The wild kine," the *antilope defassa*, a species of bovine antelope. "The deer," *arām* (for *ar'ām*), plural of *rēm*. *Rēm* is the white antelope (*antilope leucoryx*); though identical in form with the Hebrew *rēm* (*rēym*), it is very doubtful whether the latter word means the same: the LXX translate it by *μονόκερος* (A. V. "unicorn"). The Assyrian is, like the Arabic, *rīmu*, and there is a good discussion of the meaning of this word in an article on the Animals of the Assyrian Sculptures in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology for 1877; it appears certain that it is not the *antilope leucoryx*, but some larger and robuster animal, perhaps the wild buffalo (see Job xxxix, 9-12).

v. 5. "Trench": round the tent a trench is dug to receive the rain from the roof and prevent the water from flooding the interior.

v. 6. "In the morn": the morning was the time when raids were made, and the word *ṣabāḥ* thus itself is used in the sense of a sudden attack. *Yā ṣabāḥāḥ* was the battle-cry (*shī'ār*) of Temīm in the Day of el-Kulāb. To wish peace in the morning to a place is therefore an appropriate greeting.

vv. 7—15. The journey here described would take the wanderers along the southern skirt of the tract called by Palgrave (Cent. and East. Arabia, Vol. I, chap. vi) "the Upper Kaseem;" er-Rass is still a place of some importance, and will be found marked on Palgrave's map some distance to the North of 'Oneyzeh. In the days of Zuheyr the country was in the possession of the Benū Asad, who were not always on the friendliest terms with the Benū Dubyān, among whom the poet lived.

v. 12. Tassels of scarlet wool decorated the *ḥaudaj* in which ladies rode. "*Ish-riq* seeds": *ḥabbu-l-fend*; the exact nature of this plant with a scarlet seed or fruit is very doubtful: see Lane, s. vv. عشق and فني

v. 16. "The Holy House" is the Ka'beh. The mention of its building by the Qureysh and the men of Jurhum must not be understood of the same time. Jurhum was the name of two Arab stocks: the first the ancient race who peopled the lower Hijāz and Tihāmeḥ at the time of the legendary settlement of Ishmael among them, with whom he is said to have intermarried; the second (whom M. de Perceval regards as alone having had a historical existence) a tribe who ruled in Mekkeh from about 70 B. C. to 200 A. D. They were expelled from Mekkeh and dispersed so that no memorial of them remained by an Azdite stock from el-Yemen called the Khuzā'ah (C. de Perceval, *Essai*, i, 218. Aghānī, xiii, 108-111.). The second Jurhum are said (Agh. *id.*, p. 109) to have rebuilt the Ka'beh on the foundations laid by Abraham after it had been overthrown by a flood: the architect was one 'Omar el-Jārūd, whose descendants were known as the *Jedarah*, or masons. The Qureysh settled in Mekkeh during its occupation by the Khuzā'ah, and gained possession of the Ka'beh in the time of Quṣayy, whose mother was of the race of the Jedarah, about 440 A. D. (C. de Perceval). Quṣayy, in the year 450 A. D. or thereabout, caused the building erected by the Jurhum to be demolished, and rebuilt the Ka'beh on a grander scale. It was rebuilt a third time in the year 605 A. D., very shortly before the Mo'allagah was composed. Moḥammed, then 35 years old, assisted in the work. These three occasions are probably those to which Zuheyr refers.

"Circle round," *tāfa haulahu*; the *tawāf*, or going round seven times, was one of the most ancient rites of the religion of the Arabs; it was the mode of worship used not only for the Ka'beh, but also for the other objects of reverence among the pagan Arabs: see Lane, s. v. *Duḥār*.

v. 18. In this verse *mā beyna-l-'ashīreti* must be understood as meaning the friendship of the two houses of the family. *Beyn* ("that which is between") has two contrary significations: disunion, that which parts or separates, and concord, that which joins; so *Ḍāḥu-l-beyn* means both enmity and friendship.

'Ashīreh here means the stock of Baghīd son of Reyth son of Ghatafān, the common father of 'Abs and Ḍubyān; according to the dictionaries *'ashīreh* is the smallest sub-division of the tribe, but its use here is clearly opposed to that view. The various words meaning tribe and family are very loosely applied in the old poetry, and the distinctions drawn between them by lexicographers (see Lane s. v. *sha'b*) do not seem to be borne out by usage. In v. 24 'Abs and Ḍubyān are each called *qaum*, and in v. 34 'Abs is a *hayy*.

v. 19. The literal translation of this verse is—

"Ye two repaired the condition of 'Abs and Ḍubyān (by peace), after that
they had shared one with another in destruction, and had brayed between them
the perfume of Menshim."

The second hemistich is said to refer to a custom which existed among the Arabs of plunging their hands into a bowl of perfume as they took an oath together to fight for a cause until the last of them was slain. Menshim, the commentators say, was a woman in Mekkeh who sold perfume. Such an oath was followed by war to the bitter end, and so "he brayed the perfume of Menshim" became a proverb for entering on deadly strife. That oaths so taken were counted of special force may be seen from the tale of "the Oath of the Perfumed ones," *ḥilf el-Muṭayyabin*, taken by the sons of 'Abd-Menāf and their partisans in or about 490 A. D. (see C. de Perceval, *Essai*, i. 254. Ibn-el-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i. pp. 329-30.)

v. 22. Ma'add was the forefather of all those Arabs (generally called *musta'ribeh* or insititious) who traced their descent from 'Adnān, whose son he was. The name is thus used to denote the Central stocks, settled for the most part in Nejd and el-Hijāz, as opposed to the Arabs of el-Yemen or of Yemenic origin by whom they were bordered on the North and South. The name of Ma'add's son Nizār is also used in the same way. Nizār was the father of Muḍar, Rabi'ah, and Anmār; the last-named and his descendants joined themselves to the people of el-Yemen; and "Rabi'ah and Muḍar" is again a comprehensive term used to designate the tribes of Nejd and the Hijāz.

v. 25. "Slit-eared, of goodly breed": *min 'ifālīn muzennemi*. There are two ways of taking this phrase: the first is that here adopted, whereby *muzennem* is rendered as an adjective attached to *'ifāl*, meaning "slit-eared." Camels of good breed had a slit made in the ear, and the piece of skin thus detached (called *zenemeh*) left to hang down. The ordinary grammatical construction would require the feminine, *muzennemeh*, to agree with *'ifāl*; but the masculine is used by a poetic license. The other, resting on the authority of Abū 'Obeydeh, reads *'ifālī Muzennemi*, "young camels (the offspring) of Muzennem" (or el-Muzennem): Muzennem, he says, being the name of a famous stallion-camel whose breed was much renowned among the Arabs.

It is worth remarking that this line seems to contradict the assertion of et-Tebrizî, in his commentary on the *Hamâseh*, p. 107, that the young camels (seven or eight months old) called '*ifâl*' (plural of '*afil*') were not given in payment of bloodwits. Perhaps there was an exception in the case of the better breeds. The passage, however, on which et-Tebrizî makes this remark does not necessarily bear him out.

v. 26. "Tribesmen together leagued," *el-Ahlâf*, plural of *hilf*. The commentary says that these confederates were Ghatafân, Asad and Tayyi'; other authorities quoted by Lane (*s. v. hilf*) restrict the appellation to Asad and Ghatafân, Asad and Tayyi', or Fezârah (a branch of Dûbyân) and Asad. Since Dûbyân, a division of Ghatafân, is named separately from the *Ahlâf*, it would seem probable that the word here means only Asad and Tayyi'. I do not, however, find that these confederates took any part in the War of Dâhlis, except at the battle of Shî'b Jebelch, when Asad joined Dûbyân and Temîm against 'Âmir and 'Abs; their presence at the oath-taking between the various branches of Ghatafân would, however, render the engagement more formal and solemn: they were a sort of "Guaranteeing Power."

vv. 27-28. Herr von Kremer (*Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vol. ii., p. 358, note*) regards these verses as interpolated, and alien from the spirit of the poetry of the Ignorance. He says, moreover, that they are inconsistent with v. 48, which expresses the true feeling of that age, that of the Future no man knows anything. Certainly their spirit is more religious than is usual in the old poetry, and the mention of the Book and the Reckoning Day points to a body of doctrine which we are accustomed to think was first planted among the Arabs by Mohammed. But it is to be remarked that the passage where the verses come (vv. 26-33) seems thoroughly consecutive and complete in sense: that the same number of verses is given, in the same order, in all the recensions of the poem; and that v. 28 exhibits a very curious construction, easily intelligible indeed, but unlikely to be used in an interpolation: this is the carrying on of the *mejzâm* imperfect from the apodosis of the conditional sentence in v. 27 *ô* into the unconditional proposition of v. 28.

As regards the possibility of such an exhortation being addressed to the tribes settled in the country East of Yethrib and South of the mountains of Tayyi' in 610 A. D., I do not think that it should be hastily rejected. Few subjects are more obscure than the real nature of the religion of the pagan Arabs. It would seem that at the time when the Prophet arose there was extremely little religious faith in the people of any sort: that their old divinities were held by them in much the same estimation as that in which our own forefathers in Norway and Iceland held Odin and Thor when Christianity first overspread the North. But beyond the reverence, such as it was, paid to

* His words are—"Das Gedicht, Zohair XVI, wird man wegen v. 27 (28), der von der Abrechnung am jüngsten Tage spricht, für unecht oder interpolirt erklären müssen. Ich entscheide mich für das Letztere, denn v. 49 (48) spricht die echte, alte Idee aus, dass man von dem Zukünftigen nichts wisse." In the same note, H. von Kremer sees traces of Mohammedan recension in the name 'Abd-allâh in a poem of 'Antarah's. I presume that he considers the occurrence of that name as belonging to the father of Mohammed, the son of Jud'an, and the brother of Dureyd son of es-Sîmmeh, as well as to the tribe-fathers 'Abd-allâh ibn el-Azd (Ma'ârif, p. 54), 'Abd-allâh ibn Ghatafân (*id.* p. 39), and 'Abd-allâh ibn Ka'b and 'Abd-allâh ibn Kilâb, sub-divisions of 'Âmir ibn Şa'sa'ah (*id.* pp. 42 and 43), to be insufficiently vouched for.

el-Lât, el-'Ozzâ, Menât, Fuls, Wedd, and the rest, there was certainly a back-ground of faith in *The God, Allah*, whose name was, as it still is, in the mouth of every Bedawî as his most frequent ejaculation. Without assuming such a faith as already well known to the people, a great portion of the Qur'ân would be impossible: that revelation is addressed to men who join other gods with God, not those who deny Him. Some tribes may have had more of this belief in the One God, and been accustomed to look more immediately to Him, others (especially those who, like the Qureysh, possessed famous shrines of idolatrous worship which brought them in much profit,) less: probably contact with Judaism and Christianity determined in some measure the greater or less degree of it. Now among the neighbours of the tribes of Ghatafan were the Jews settled from Yethrib to Kheybar and Teymâ; to the North was Kolb in the Daumat (or Dûmat) el-Jendel, almost entirely Christian; Christianity had made some progress in Tayyî', nearer still; and we have seen how, according to a fairly vouched for story, Qeys son of Zuheyr, the chief of 'Abs, spent the last years of his life as a Christian anchorite in 'Omân. To the West was Yethrib, in constant relations with the Kings of Ghassân, who were Christian, together with their people; and to the North-east was el-Hîrch, whose King, en-No'mân Abû Qâbûs, had long been a Christian, and where Christianity had spread among the people long before his day. En-Nâbighah of Dûbyân, Zuheyr's famous contemporary, had dwelt long at the Courts both of el-Hîrch and Ghassân; and in a well-known passage* (much contested, it is true, but in favour of the genuineness of which much may be said,) he refers to a Rabbinical legend of Solomon's power over the Jinn, and how they built for him Tedmur. At the fair of 'Okâḡ Quss son of Sâ'idich had preached Christianity long before Zuheyr made this poem. And to 'Abs itself belonged one of the *Hanifs*, Khâlid son of Sinân son of Gheyth (see Ibn Quteybeh, Ma'arif, p. 30). These things seem to me to make it not impossible that the lines may be genuine. The objection that they are inconsistent with v. 48 appears wholly groundless; the latter refers to the vicissitudes of this world and the chances of life: the former to the reckoning of God in the world after death. (See note on v. 32 for a further argument in favour of the authenticity of these verses.)

v. 29. War, *el-Harb*, is feminine in Arabic; as in vv. 31 and 32 it is personified as a woman, it seemed best to use in the translation the feminine pronoun in vv. 29 and 30.

v. 31. "Skin," *thifal*, is the mat of skin that is placed beneath the mill to receive the flour. The comparison of War to a mill and the slain to ground grain is common in the old poetry; so says 'Amr son of Kulthûm, (Mo'all. vv. 30, 31)—

مَتَى تَنْقَلُ إِلَى قَوْمٍ رَحَانَا يَكُونُوا فِي اللَّقَاءِ لَهَا طَحِينَا
يَكُونُ ثَغَالِيهَا شَرْفِي نَجْدٍ وَلِهَوْتِهَا قَضَاءُ أَجْمَعِينَا

* En-Nâbighah, v. 22 *sqq.* For a discussion of this passage, see Noeldeke, Beiträge z. Kenntn. der Poes. d. alt. Araber, p. XI, and Ahlwardt, Bemerkungen über die Aechtheit d. alt. Arab. Gedichte, pp. 17-18 and 41. Noeldeke appears to overlook the tradition (unless he rejects it) that en-No'mân was a Christian.

"When our War-mill is set against a people
as grain they fall thereunder ground to powder;
Eastward in Nejd is set the skin beneath it,
and the grain cast therein is all Qudā'ah."

"Year by year shall her womb conceive": *telqaḥ kishāfan*; *kishāf* is said of a she-camel that conceives in two following years. Another word used in a like sense of War is *'awān*, which is applied to an animal with a hard hoof (as a cow or mare), that after bringing forth her first-born (*bikr*) conceives again forthwith and bears another young one; so *ḥarḥun 'awān* is said of a war the fury of which is perpetually renewed (see Ḥamāseh, p. 180). Again, *ḥā'il*, plural *ḥiyāl*, is used of a war which lies long dormant; its meaning is a she-camel that does not conceive for two years, or some years, and it is therefore the opposite of *kishāf*. El-Ḥārith son of 'Obād said of the War of Basūs after the slaying of his son Bujeyr by Muhelhil—

لَقَحَتْ حَرْبٌ وَائِلٌ عَنْ حِيَالٍ

"The War of Wā'il has conceived at last, having long been barren."

v. 32. "Aḥmar of 'Ād." According to the received story of the Muslims, it was to Thamūd, not to 'Ād, that the prophet Ṣāliḥ was sent to warn them of their wickedness. The sign that he gave them was a gigantic she-camel that issued forth at his bidding from a rock (Qur'ān vii. 71): "Then said those among them that were filled with pride—'Verily we reject that in which ye believed.' And they slew the she-camel and rebelled against their Lord, and said—'O Ṣāliḥ! bring upon us that wherewith thou didst threaten us, if thou art indeed of the Sent of God!' Then the earthquake seized them, and they lay on their faces in their dwellings, dead." (Qur. l. c. vv. 74—76. The story is also told in *Sūrah* xi, vv. 64—71.) The leader in the slaying of the Camel was Qudār el-Aḥmar, "Qudār the Red"; and thus "More unlucky than Aḥmar of Thamūd," and "More unlucky than the Slayer of the She-camel," became proverbs. The people of Thamūd (—who are mentioned* by Diodorus Siculus and Ptolemy, and as late as 450 A. D. in the *Notitia dignitatum utriusque imperii*: see C. de Perceval, *Essai* i., p. 27—) dwelt in Hījr, a valley on the road Northwards from the Hījāz into Syria. The race of 'Ād, on the contrary, were settled in the South of Arabia, in the *Aḥqāf*, now a vast desert of sand: Ibn Quteyboh (Ma'ārif, p. 15) places them "in ed-Daww, and ed-Dahnā, and 'Ālij, and Yebṛīn, and Webbār, from 'Omān to Ḥaḍramaut and el-Yemen." To them was sent Hūd (Qur. vii. 63 and xi). They were thus separated by the whole distance of Arabia from Thamūd, and, it is probable, also by a vast space of time, if the *Thamudeni* of the *Notitia dignitatum* are the same as the latter people. The commentators give two reasons to explain why Zuheyr said, "Aḥmar of 'Ād" instead of "Aḥmar of Thamūd": the first is the necessity of the rhythm, which would not permit him to say Thamūd; the second is that some of the genealogists say that Thamūd was a cousin of 'Ād, and after the destruction of the

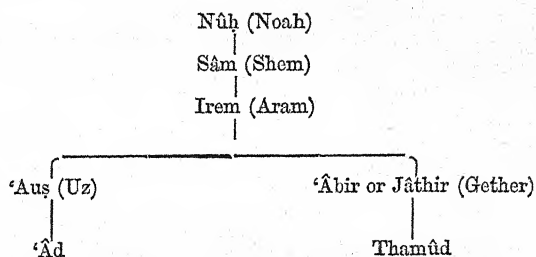
* In Mr. George Smith's "Assyria" ("Ancient History from the Monuments" Series), p. 100, Sargon, in 715 B. C., is related to have led an expedition into Arabia, "where he conquered the Thamudites and several other tribes, carrying them captive and placing them in the cities of Samaria."

ancient race of 'Ād the people of Thamūd inherited their possessions and were called 'Ād el-Akhirah, "the later 'Ād." The first reason must be rejected, for it would have been easy to the poet so to frame the verse that Thamūd might have been used instead of 'Ād: for instance, he might have said—

Fatuntej lakum ghilmāna, kullun ka'annahu

Qudru Thamūdin : thumma turqī' fatqfīmi.

Moreover other poets also speak of Ahmar of 'Ād: *e. g.*, Abū Jundab el-Huḍālī, quoted by et-Tebrizī in the *Ḥamāsch*, p. 421. The second is more probable, though the Biblical genealogies framed for 'Ād and Thamūd by later Muslim writers can hardly have been known to Zuheyr. According to these, the following was the descent of these two tribes—



A third hypothesis is possible—that some version of the legend of Ṣalīḥ and his Camel, and the judgment which followed its slaying, was current in the days of Zuheyr which dropped out of mind when el-Islām overspread the land.

If this verse is genuine, it would seem strongly to support the opinion that vv. 27—28 may also be genuine; for it refers plainly to a legend (mentioned in the Qur'ān in a way which shows that it was well known to those addressed) of God's judgment on the wicked. That it is genuine and not a Muslim interpolation appears highly probable from the mention of 'Ād rather than Thamūd: the latter would have been named by a Muslim following the version of the legend embodied in the Qur'ān.

v. 33. "Of bushels of corn and gold," *min qafizin wa dirhemi*: the coinage called *dirhem* was silver, not gold; but the latter is here used (like the word *dirhem* in the original) in the general sense of money. The *qafiz* was a measure of capacity containing eight *mekkūks* or twelve *ṣā's* of el-ʿIrāq: one *ṣā'* of Baghdād is $5\frac{1}{3}$ *riḥls*, or pints: the *qafiz* is thus 64 pints. The word is originally Persian, *kawīsh* (کویش).

v. 37. "Though there in their midst the Vulture-mother had entered in," *ledā heythu 'alqet raḥlahā 'Ummu gash'ami*: literally, "In that place where the Vulture-mother cast down her camel-saddle." "To cast down one's saddle" (as "to lay down one's staff" in v. 13) means to halt in a place. "The Vulture-mother" is a name of Death, or Calamity; *gash'am* means an old vulture, and is used in that sense in the last verse of 'Antarah's *Mo'allagah*.

v. 38. "A bulwark for men in fight," *mugaḍḍaf*: literally, "one whom men cast before them (in battle)," to shield themselves or to do a desperate deed.

v. 40. As explained at the end of the second note to the Introduction, this verse appears to refer to the breaking out again of strife which followed the deed of Huseyn. "They pastured their camels athirst," *ra'au ḡim'ahum*: literally, "They pastured (their camels) for their ḡim', or period between two drinkings." Camels in Arabia are not taken down to drink every day; in the greatest heat they are watered every alternate day: this is called *ghibb*; as the weather gets colder, they pass two days without water, and come down on the fourth: this is called *rib'*; then follow *khims*, *sids*, and so on to *'ishr*, when the ḡim' is eight days, and they are watered on the tenth. The camels are the warriors, and the pools the pools of Death. The image seems intended to figure the senselessness of the strife, and its want of object and aim.

v. 41. "Till their thirst should grow anew": these words have been added in the translation to complete the sense; they follow from the description of the pasture (*kela'*) as unwholesome, heavy (*mustaubal*), and indigestible (*mutawakhhham*): such, that is, as to stir their thirst again in a short time. The unwholesome pasture is the brooding over wrong in the intervals of combat. In like manner Qeys son of Zuheyr says, of the bitter results of wrong in this same War of Dāhis (Ḥamāseh, p. 210. Aghānī xvi., 32)—

وَأَكْبَرَ الْفَتَى حَمَلُ بْنُ بَدْرٍ بَغَى وَالْبَغَى مَرْتَعَةً وَخِيمٌ

"But the stout warrior Ḥamal son of Bedr
wrought wrong: and wrong is a surfeiting pasturage."

v. 44. The commentary on this verse seems to me to err in taking *kullan* as equivalent to *kulla wāḥidin minā-l-'aqlin*; it is, I think, equivalent to *kulla wāḥidin minā-l-qatlā*: this follows from the *hu* in *ya'qilūnahū* at the end of the hemistich. I have translated accordingly.

v. 45. This verse contains a difficult word which the dictionaries do not satisfactorily explain, *viz.* *ḥilāl* in *liḥayyin ḥilālin*. In form it is the plural of *ḥall*, "alighting or abiding in one place"; but it seems always to be used, as here, as an epithet of praise. Lane (*s. v. ḥall*) says that it means "a numerous tribe alighting or abiding in one place." I have not found it in the Ḥamāseh, though *hayyun ḥalālin* (another plural of *ḥall*) occurs in a poem on p. 171; but it is used in a poem by 'Amr son of Kulthūm given in the Aghānī, vol. ix., p. 183—

أَلَا أَبْلَغُ بَنِي جُشَمَ بْنَ بَكْرٍ وَتَغْلِبَ كُلَّمَا أَتَيْتَا حِلَالًا
بِأَنَّ الْمَاجِدَ الْقُرْمَ بْنَ عَمْرٍو عِدَاةَ نَطَاعٍ قَدْ مَدَقَ الْفِتَالَا

Which seems to mean—

"Ho! carry my message to the sons of Jusham son of Bekr,
and Teghlib, (that they may know) as often as they come to the great tribe,
How that the glorious warrior, the son of 'Amr,
on the morn of Naṭā* bore himself stoutly in battle."

* For the vocalization of Naṭā here given see the Marāṣid, *s. v.* It is a village of el-Yemāneh belonging to the Benū Ḥanīfeh.

It may possibly mean *numerous*, and hence *strong*, this sense being derived from that of a body of men halting together in a compact host, on the alert and prepared for all attacks.

v. 46. This verse is in praise of 'Abs, and is in continuation of v. 45. The second hemistich offers some difficulty: one does not expect to find their protection of "him that wrongs them" set down to their credit; but the words *el-jānī 'aleyhim* cannot be otherwise rendered. Probably the wronger spoken of is the man who by slaying a member of another tribe involves his own in difficulties. It sometimes happened that such an one found himself unsupported by his kinsmen, and turned out from among them as a *khallī*, or outcast: for instance, el-Hārith son of Ḍālim, who slew Khālīd son of Ja'far of 'Āmir while the latter was under the protection of en-No'mān son of el-Munḍir, King of el-Hīreh, was so treated by his tribe of Murrah, the same as that to which the men whom Zuheyr praises in this poem belonged. Such a desertion, unless for the gravest possible cause, was held to be disgraceful; and 'Abs are accordingly praised because they would not give up the wrongdoer, though he brought evil upon them.

v. 47. Zuheyr was eighty years old when he composed his Mo'allakah; if this was in 608 or 610 A. D., as M. de Perceval supposes, he may well have been a hundred, as the Aghānī relates (ix. 148), when he was seen by Moḥammed, who said—"O God! grant me a refuge from his Devil!"—that is, his cunning in song; it is added that he made no more poems from that day till his death, which ensued shortly after. This would be about 628 or 630 A. D.; and we know that his son Ka'b gave in his adhesion to the Prophet in 631 (the latter part of the ninth year of the Hijrah), after Zuheyr's other surviving son Bujeyr, together with the greater part of his tribe, the Muzeyneh, had already embraced el-Islām.

v. 49. "Blind beast," *'ashwā*: literally, "a weak-eyed she-camel"—one that sees not well where she is going, and therefore strikes everything with her forefeet, not paying attention to the places where she sets down her feet (Lane). The word is used proverbially: you say—*Rekība fulānuni-l-'ashwā*, "Such an one rides the weak-eyed she-camel"; that is, he prosecutes his affair without due deliberation; and—*Khabāṭa khabāṭa-l-'ashwā*, "He trod with the careless tread of a weak-eyed she-camel," he acted at random.

v. 50. If this verse is rightly placed next after v. 49, the rending by the teeth and the treading under foot should refer to the weak-eyed she-camel spoken of in that verse; and so I have taken it, the camel being blind Chance.

v. 53. I am far from satisfied with the translation given of this verse, in which, however, I have scrupulously followed the commentary. The doubtful words are *muṭma'innu-l-birri* and *yetjemjem*; the former is explained as meaning *birrun khālīṣun*, that is, "pure goodness"; and the latter as the same as *yetaradded*, that is, "he is disturbed, confounded, perplexed." But Lane renders *muṭma'innu-l-birri* as "quiet, at rest, in heart or mind" (s. v. *birr*, end); for *tejemjema*, he gives—"he spoke indistinctly, he concealed a thing in his bosom, he held back from the thing, not daring to

do it"; the sense of "being disturbed in mind" does not occur, though it may, perhaps, fairly be gathered from the last of those given by Lane. I should be inclined to render *man yulda qalbuhi*, &c.—"He whose heart is guided to quietness and rest of soul is not disturbed in his doings, but acts without fear or trouble of spirit."

v. 56. Among the Arabs, when two parties of men met, if they meant peace, they turned towards each other the iron feet (*zijdij*, plural of *zujj*) of their spears: if they meant war, they turned towards each other the points.

v. 57. The "cistern", *hauḍ*, is a man's home and family.

v. 60. This verse, the commentary tells us, was quoted by 'Othmān son of 'Affān, the third Khalīfah.

v. 62. This accords with the proverb—*innama-l-mar'u bi'asghareyhi*—"A man is accounted of according to his two smallest things"—his heart and his tongue.

vv. 60-62 seem consecutive in sense, and probably belong to the same poem; but it is very difficult to see how they cohere with the rest of this. v. 63, on the other hand, seems separate not only from the rest of the poem, but also from the three verses that precede it; grammar would require that the verb at the end of it should be *marfū'*, not *mej'ām*—*yahlumu*, not *yahlum*: but to read it so would disturb the rhyme, and be a fault of the kind called *iqwā*. The commentary says that the *mim* of *yahlum* is originally *mauqūf* (quiescent in a pause), and is read with *kesr*, because that is the appropriate vowel for making a quiescent letter moveable; but this reason is very lame. On the whole, it seems certain that v. 63 does not properly belong to the piece, and it is probable that vv. 60-62 are also intrusions. No other poem of those by Zuheyr that remain has the same metre and rhyme as his Mo'allaqah, and it is most likely that fragments of other poems, now lost, in this measure and rhyme that have survived have been included in it, because there was no other piece into which they could be put. The rest of the maxims forming the conclusion of the poem can be understood as arising, some more, some less closely, out of its subject; but the different order in which they occur in different recensions, and the fact that some recensions omit some of them which others supply, make it doubtful whether even they all properly belong to the Mo'allaqah.

Stray Arians in Tibet.—By R. B. SHAW, *Political Agent.*

(With one plate.)

The line which divides the Musalmān from the Buddhist populations of Asia, where it crosses the valley of the Upper Indus, passes through the villages of a small tribe which is worthy of some attention. It is Arian in blood though surrounded on all sides but one by Turanians of the Tibetan branch. The people of this tribe are proved by their language and their customs, which are supported by their traditions of former migrations, to

belong to the Dård* race, although they themselves are not aware of the kinship. They are known simply as *Bròk-pà* (or highlanders). While isolated among strangers they have preserved themselves with a caste-like feeling from amalgamating with them, and seem to have only recently and very superficially accepted the religious beliefs of their neighbours. The greater part of the tribe is thus nominally Buddhist, while two or three of their north-westernmost villages bordering on Baltistán have become Musalmàn.

This tribe presents therefore, to the student of early institutions, the interesting sight of a people of pure Arian race, isolated in the semi-barbarous stage, and who enjoy the rare distinction of being practically unaffected by the action of any of the great philosophising or methodising religions; although in some of their customs they have not altogether escaped being influenced by contact with neighbours of another race.

I paid a visit to the Dàh-Hanu district (the home of these so-called Buddhist Dårds) on my way down to India from Ladàk (Western Tibet) last winter (1876). In a wild gorge through which the narrow Indus rushes, and where the grand masses of granite seemingly piled in confusion on both banks scarce leave room for the passage of the river and conceal the higher mountains behind them, my first camp was pitched. Close by, the Hanu Ravine, which in its upper part expands into a wide inhabited valley, escapes through a rocky chasm into the Indus. Here, on a little triangular plain a few yards in extent between the cliffs and the river, the only flat spot around, the people of Hanu were waiting to receive me. The sun was setting; the gorge was already in deep shade; a line of women in dark attire was drawn up along the side of the pathway, each holding in her hand a saucer full of burning juniper-wood from which columns of smoke ascended in the still air, uniting overhead in a kind of canopy and giving out a pungent incense-like odour. A wild music of drums and screaming pipes was playing. As I approached, the women bent down and placed on the ground at their feet the smoking bowls which screened them as in a cloud, while they greeted me in the peculiar manner of their tribe by waving the two hands rapidly in front of their faces with fingers closed as if holding something.

My attention was chiefly attracted by some witch-like old hags of the number, with faces begrimed by juniper smoke, whose sharp haggard features and deep sunk eyes were in marked contrast with the flat Tibetan countenances to which one is accustomed in Ladàk. These were unmis-

* Although Dr. Leitner (in his Dardistán) states that the name Dard was not claimed by any of the race that he met, yet I have heard the Drás people of that tribe apply it to their parent stock in Astor under the form *Dardé*. They are also known to their Kashmíri neighbours by the name of *Dard*, and *Dardu*.

takeably of a different race. They wore long straight woollen smocks, square flat caps poised on their heads with one of the corners projecting over the forehead, the hair done up into numberless slender plaits hanging loose and straight, and sheep skins suspended like cloaks over the shoulders, the only part of their dress resembling that of Tibetan women, excepting the mocassin-like boots. The men were clothed just like Tibetans* with caps, like black nosebags, falling over one ear.

These people were inhabitants of the Hanu side-valley, whose villages lie some distance up it, but who had come down to the gorge of the main river (Indus) to receive me. They have lost their own tribal dialect and speak Tibetan; but otherwise in dress and customs they resemble the rest of their people.

My next day's march led through similar scenery, the path now rising up the side of the cliff supported on frail-looking scaffoldings of tree-trunks resting on projecting rocks or on wooden trestles, now plunging precipitously down to the river-side where a stone could be thrown to strike the opposite cliff across the Indus. We saw a village or two on the other side at the mouths of lateral valleys, inhabited not by Brökpàs but by Musalman Tibetans from beyond the mountain-range on the west. At length we came to a succession of isolated villages on our own (north-east) side of the river, mostly placed on high alluvial plateaux near the mouths of side ravines (whence they obtain their water for irrigation), and divided by vertical cliffs into terraces rising in successive steps. Here the warmth in summer is great, the rays of the sun being thrown off from the granite sides of the confined valley, so that where water is available the vegetation is luxuriant. Vines trail from the overhanging cliffs and from the splendid walnut trees, and two crops ripen each year on the same ground during the summer season, nothing being grown in winter. The apricots, mulberries, and apples of the district are celebrated. Between the villages there is nothing but the most arid wastes of granite without a green thing to cheer the eye. In this part the villages that occur in the other side of the river are inhabited by Brökpàs as well as those on this.

Dàh is the principal village in this part. Situated on a long sloping alluvial terrace about a hundred yards wide and at the highest part perhaps a couple of hundred feet above the river, it is separated from a still higher terrace by a wall of cliff which culminates in a point immediately above the village. On this point a cairn surmounted by thin staves with fluttering rags attached, marks the supposed abode of a local demon or deity. The howling waste behind, invisible from the village on account of its higher level, but rising into still higher mountain masses which tower above, affords a fitting scene for all the supernatural doings of the

* Women are everywhere the most conservative of national customs.

mountain spirits. The scenery which inspires awe in a passing traveller, has made its mark on the minds of the inhabitants. These lofty solitudes are, from their earliest years, connected with ideas of dread, which shape themselves into myths. The priest affirms that sometimes in the early dawn while performing the annual worship, he perceives a white indistinct shape hovering over the cairn; and this, he says, is the goddess of the spot revealing herself to her worshipper. The people believe that this demon keeps a special watch over all their actions, and in a country where frequent accidents by flood or fell are almost inevitable, and where a false step or a falling rock may cause death at any time, they put down such disasters to the vengeance of the goddess for the neglect of some of their peculiar customs which they have persuaded themselves are religious duties.

Foremost among their tenets is the abhorrence of the cow. This is an essentially Dàrd peculiarity, though not universal among them. Unlike Hindus they consider that animal's touch contamination, and though they are obliged to use bullocks in ploughing, they scarcely handle them at all. Calves they seem to hold aloof from still more. They use a forked stick to put them to, or remove them from, the mother. They will not drink cow's milk (or touch any of its products in any form); and it is only recently that they have overcome their repugnance to using shoes made of the skin of the animal they so contemn. When asked whether their abstaining from drinking the milk and eating the flesh of cows is due to reverence such as that of the Hindus, they say that their feeling is quite the reverse. The cow is looked upon as bad not good, and if one of them drank its milk, they would not admit him into their houses.

Again in reply to a question, they ascribed this custom to the will of their goddess. They found by experience that she would not allow them to drink the milk of cows with impunity. The son of a certain head-man of the village of Ganok, a Musalmàn Bròkpà, had broken through the prohibition after living some years among the Baltis. After a time the goddess caused him to go mad and to throw himself into the river where he was drowned.

Thus although the Bròkpàs of Dàh-Hanu are nominally Buddhists, yet their real worship is that of local spirits or demons like the *Lhà-mo* (goddess) of Dàh.*

* In this, however, they are not singular; for the Tibetans of Ladàk also have a reverence for similar spirits of purely local influence called *Lhà* (cf. *Lhà-sa* "the city of gods"), a reverence which seems to be neither founded on the Buddhist dogmas, nor much countenanced by the more respectable members of the Làmaïte hierarchy. An annual incarnation of one of these demons (a female) takes place at Shè, a village of Ladàk, in the month of August; but though Làmas are so plentiful in the country, it is to one of the lay members of a certain family that the honour of giving a temporary body to the deity belongs, while Làmas are rarely to be seen in the crowds that witness

Her name is *Shiring-mo*.* A certain family in the village supplies the hereditary officiating priest. This person has to purify himself for the annual ceremony by washings and fastings for the space of seven days, during which he sits apart, not even members of his own family being allowed to approach him, although they are compelled during the same period to abstain from onions, salt, chang (a sort of beer), and other unholy food. At the end of this period he goes up alone on to the rocky point before mentioned above the village, and after worshipping in the name of the community the deity who dwells there in a small cairn,† he renews the branches of the "shukpa" (*Juniperus excelsa*)‡ which were placed there the previous year, the old branches being carefully stowed away under a rock and covered up with stones.

It is said that this deity or spirit accompanied the ancestor of the priestly family from the original home of the Brökpàs in Gilgit. Formerly the priest used to be occasionally possessed by the demon and in this state to dance a devil-dance, giving forth inspired oracles at the same time, but these manifestations have ceased for the last twelve or fifteen years. The worship is now simply one of propitiation inspired by fear, the demon seeming to be regarded as an impersonation of the forces of nature adverse to man in this wild mountainous country. Sacrifices of goats (not sheep) are occasionally offered at all seasons below the rock, by the priest only, on behalf of pious donors. They talk of the existence of the demon as a misfortune attaching to their tribe, and do not regard her with any loyalty as a protecting or tutelary deity. In each house the fireplace consists of three upright stones of which the one at the back of the hearth is the largest, 18 inches or 2 feet in height. On this stone they place an offering for the *Lhàmo* from every dish cooked there, before they eat of it. They also place there the first-fruits of the harvest. Such is their household worship.

Besides this spirit-worship, which is their tribal religion, they have a superficial coating of Buddhism. They say that three or four cycles, that is

the performance and consult the oracle. Perhaps this may be the remains of a form of local spirit worship which may have preceded Buddhism in these countries. I have already treated this subject elsewhere.

* The affix *mo* is the Tibetan feminine affix, as *bo* is the masculine.

† The *Sìah-yòsh Kâfirs* (probably Dàrds) have also a custom of "going once a year to the top of a mountain as a religious exercise and putting a stone on a cairn" (Leitner's Dàrdistàn, Vol. I, Part 3, p. 42).

‡ This is also a Tibetan custom with this difference, that each Tibetan householder has a similar sacred bundle of *shukpa* branches and horns of animals on the flat roof of his own house. But these customs are mere survivals (superstitions) among the Tibetans, while they form the religion of the Brökpàs.

forty or fifty years ago, after a war between Shigar and Ladàk, when their country was occupied by the Ladàk army, the Lâmas converted them. The head Lâma at the monastery of Skirbuchan, further up the river, told me, however, that it was only some twelve or fifteen years ago that the Bròkpàs were converted by Lâmas from his monastery who went on begging tours amongst them. But this may have been a mere revival. At any rate, there is a remarkable absence in the Dàh-Hanu country, of those Buddhist monuments (long stone dikes covered with inscriptions, and tall structures surmounted by obelisks and containing relics, called respectively *Mané* and *Chorten*) which form such a conspicuous feature along the roads and in the villages of Tibet. I saw one or two small *chortens*, evidently newly erected, and in two villages small *gompàs* or hermit-cells (the larger monasteries of Tibet have the same name) inhabited each by a single Lâma, one of whom was a Tibetan and the other, whom they brought forward rather as a curiosity, a real *Bròkpà* Lâma, the only one in existence. These *gompàs* also were quite new.

The Bròkpàs burn their dead like the Ladàkis; that is to say in little brick furnaces on the hill-sides. The upper part of the furnace is a short upright cylinder into which the body is crammed in a squatting posture with the head tied well down between the knees, while a fire is lighted in the square base of the furnace. This method is probably adopted as saving fuel in a country where it is so scarce, and where it would be difficult to get logs sufficient for the ordinary mode of Hindu cremation where the body is extended at full length on an open pyre. The corpse is carried to the burning on a kind of sedan-chair raised by poles on men's shoulders. It is placed in the squatting posture in which it is to be burnt, but covered up with flowing coloured sheets so that it might almost be taken for a veiled woman being carried on a journey. Often in Ladàk a broad-brimmed Lâma's hat is placed on its head to secure a blessing for the soul of the defunct.

Mr. Drew, who has given a most interesting short account of these Bròkpàs in his "Jummoo and Kashmir," is, I think, mistaken in supposing that they have no caste, as the other Dàrds have. I have heard of at least three caste-like divisions, which we may call those of *priests*, *cultivators*, and *artisans*. The priestly families (called *Lhàbdak*, Tib.) form the highest division in each village. Although men of the next caste are allowed to come into their houses, yet it is only on condition of washing their hands and faces before doing so, especially if they have recently been among the Gentiles (Tibetans, &c.), a precaution that does not seem to be considered necessary on other occasions by the Bròkpàs, who are a very dirty people. This next caste which forms the bulk of the people is called *Rùshen*. The younger branches of the priestly families become *Rùshens*, since there can only be one priest or *Lhàbdak* in each village.

Besides these there is a lower caste consisting, in the village of Dàh, of only five families. They were originally blacksmiths, it is said, but no longer carry on the ancestral calling. They are called *Rüzmet* (Tib.) or *Gärgyut*.^{*} Their women are not allowed to approach the cooking-hearths of the higher caste, nor are the *Rüzmet* men, excepting after a purification similar to that of the *Rüşen* on going into the houses of the priests. The higher castes will not eat what is cooked by them.

Reversing the custom of the Hindus in the matter of marriage, the lower caste may take wives from the higher, but not *vice-versa* (except in the case of the priests who, I gather, can marry *Rüşen* women). Probably as a consequence of this, a married daughter is never allowed to re-enter the house of her parents and may not touch anything belonging to them. After three generations of marriages with the higher caste, the progeny are admitted into it. While at Dàh, I was questioning a party of Brökpàs, and one of them, an old man who, though sitting rather apart, had been very forward in answering my questions, became silent and hung down his head when I began inquiries into the caste-system. It appeared that he was a *Rüzmet* or low-caste-man. But presently he brightened up and said: "True, I am now a *Rüzmet*, but in three generations I can become *Rüşen*." This thought seemed to console the old man, much to the amusement of the others.

Polyandry is the rule in Dàh-Hanu. As the Brökpàs do not intermarry with the neighbouring Tibetans, it would seem that the question of its possible cause or effect in a disproportion of the sexes could be well studied in this confined area. I had not leisure or opportunity to obtain exact statistics, but if there were any notable excess of either sex in such small communities, where there is no monasticism to speak of, it could hardly escape notice by the more intelligent among them. I repeatedly put the question: "Why do several brothers take only one wife between them?" The answer given me was: "Because the land is not sufficient to provide food for the families of the several brothers, if they each took a wife." Again I asked: "If an equal number of boys and girls are born in your village, as you say; and each family of two or three (or more) brothers takes only one girl to wife between them, where are the other girls? Do they

^{*} These castes seem roughly to answer to three out of the four castes prevalent among the main body of the Dàrds: viz., 1st, *Shin*; 2nd, *Yashkun* (these two castes trade, cultivate land, or keep sheep); 3rd, *Kramin* (? derived from *Kram*=work) (are weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, artisans in fact); 4th, *Dóm* (are musicians and do low drudgery; this caste seems absent from the Dàh-Hanu division of Dàrds). [See Leitner's Dardistan, Vol. I, Part 3, p. 48, 2nd note, and Drew's Jummoo and Kashmir, p. 426.]

marry into the villages of the neighbouring Tibetans?" They answer, No. "Are there many unmarried women in your villages?" They reply that, on the contrary, they often find it difficult to procure wives. It would seem therefore that there must either be a great defect in the number of births of females, or an equal excess in their deaths while young. I could not hear of female infanticide and do not believe that it is practised, as, if it were, it must be known to the Kashmir officials.

It is not only in marriage that they keep themselves apart from their neighbours. They will not eat with the Tibetan Buddhists or Musalmâns or other outsiders, nor will they allow these to come near their cooking places. The caste prejudice seems to originate on the side of the Brôkpâ, for their neighbours often eat in their houses, only separate dishes are given them which are afterwards purified with burning juniper. No Brôkpâ will eat in the house or from the dishes of a Tibetan; nor will he eat fish or birds or (of course) cow's flesh. Formerly, if they had been among the Tibetans, they would purify themselves with the smoke of the "shukpa" before entering their own houses again.

The tribe is subdivided into several groups of villages. 1st. Those in the Hanu side valley (whose inhabitants have exchanged their own language for Tibetan, being situated on the main road between Skardo and Ladâk.) 2nd. The Dâh group, consisting of Baldès, Phindur, Byéma, Sani, Dundir, and Dâh villages. 3rd. The Garkhon group, consisting of Garkhon, Dârchik (large village on west of Indus), Sanâcha (ditto), Urdâs, Gagra (up side-stream on east), and Watsara. These are all the Buddhist villages. The people of each group consider themselves to be one community. The Dâh people reckon from seven ancestors who first colonised their villages and of whom they give the names: *viz.*, *Lalûsho* (from whom the Lhâbdaks or priests spring); *Zoné*, *Dâkré*, *Gochaghé* (these three are the ancestors of the *Rûshen* caste); *Dûsé*, *Gabûré*, and *Tukshûré* (these are the fathers of the *Rûzmet* caste). The land of Dâh is still divided according to these families, though some of it has changed hands. In this fact we may perhaps see a trace of the early Arian joint family holding, passing into the stage of individual proprietorship. Each man knows his own ancestry (real or imaginary), and each field is known as belonging to the patrimony of one of the seven fathers of the tribe, though it may now be in the hands of a descendant of one of the others. The remaining groups of villages have similar traditions. The Dâh people say that their ancestors, when they first came, lived by hunting, not by agriculture. One of their mighty hunters dropped his bow (called in their language *Dâh*) on the hill-side. It became a water channel which fertilized the fields of what afterwards became a village. One of their Chiefs found certain seeds growing wild which he sowed near the water-course. These seeds proved to be those of wheat

and barley. Thus the village was founded. The story of the bow is probably originated either by the curved course of the water-channel which comes out of a side valley and bends round the hill side to reach the village; or else by a mere superficial resemblance of sound between the name Dàh (of which the origin had become forgotten) and the name for a bow.

Several of the villages possess a communal dwelling in which every inhabitant of the village has a place. That of Dàh is very curious. It covers a considerable space in the angle between the Indus and a side-stream, protected on two sides by the precipitous declivities of the high alluvial plateau on which it stands and on the third by a wall. It was thus fortified against the raids of the neighbouring Baltis. The interior consists of an intricate maze of passages, some open and some covered in, which may be considered either as the lanes of a tightly packed village, or rather as the passages of a vast single storied house which forms the common dwelling of the whole community, each household having its separate apartment or den. Here the people always live during winter, for warmth or for company. They all, however, have other houses for summer, out in the fields. I could not discover that there was any difference in tenure between the lands adjoining the common dwelling and the outlying fields. The village of *Dàrchik* likewise is cut off from the lower course of the valley by a vertical cliff, the escarpment of the plateau on which it stands. There are only two ways of approach. One high up and away from the river, is guarded by a fortified communal dwelling. The other, near the river, consists of a rugged narrow staircase constructed in the face of the cliff and closed by a gateway at the top. Such precautions were necessary in former days when the men of Baltistán made raids on their neighbours, especially on such as were not Musalmàns, and penetrated even to Ladàk. Now all is peace under the common rule of our Feudatory, the Mahàrájá of Kaslmír.

So much for the (so-called) Buddhist *Bròkpàs*. But the villages of the same tribe which lie exposed to Musalmàn influences down the Indus on the two roads leading north-west and south-west respectively, have all been converted to Islám. Of the settlements on the former road, that down the Indus, and in side-valleys near it, the village of Ganok is entirely inhabited by Musalmàn *Bròkpàs*, while those of Dangel, Marul, Chùlichan, and Singkarmòn, are inhabited partly by Musalmàn (Shi'ah) *Bròkpàs*, and partly by Baltis (Tibetan Musalmàns) of the same sect. Below this the population is entirely Balti. On the other road, that across a low Pass south-westward to Kargil, the villages of Tsirno and Lálung are also inhabited partly by Musalmàn *Bròkpàs* and partly by Musalmàn Tibetans from the adjoining district of Purik. These Musalmàn *Bròkpàs* on both roads speak the Dàh dialect, and dress like the Dàh people, and keep apart from the Tibetan Musalmàns both in matter of marriage and in eating.

But they have no caste inequalities amongst them like their non-Musalman kinsmen, and generally they do not object to drinking milk, though at Tsirno, there seems to be a relic of the *Bròkpa* prejudice against the cow in the fact that their women do not touch that animal.

A short account of the language of these Upper Indus Dàrds (or Dàh-Hanu *Bròkpas*, as they are usually called), including both the Buddhist and the Musalmàn sections, is given hereafter.

It is a question how these Arian Dàrds (for Arians and Dàrds they undoubtedly are) reached their present abode. Both above and below them in the valley of the Upper Indus and to the east of them in the parallel valley of the Shayok, the inhabitants are all of Tibetan race. Dàrdistàn proper, or the country of the Dàrds* (the ancient *Bolor*), is situated far away on the lower course of the Upper Indus, and along that river no vestige of their passage exists and no connecting link with their former home.† But from the country of the Dàrds the Indus makes a wide bend westwards and southwards, and from the concavity of this bend we find a line of Dàrd communities running south at first and then trending off to the east until it almost abuts against the settlements of the Dàh-Hanu *Bròkpas* on the Upper Indus. These Dàrds are Musalmàn, as are also the main body of the Dàrd race in their own home. The Buddhist *Bròkpas* of Dàh-Hanu acknowledge no kinship with these people, although they say that their ancestors also came from *Gilid* (Gilgit) and *Brushal*, that is, from Dàrdistàn proper. There is, however, an unmistakable mutual affinity of language and customs. Mr. Drew,‡ in explanation of the difference of religion, very justly supposes the Dàh-Hanu *Bròkpas* to "belong to an earlier immigration.....separated from the main mass of their tribe brethren at a time before the Dàrds were converted to Muhammedanism."§ The Dàh-Hanu people, having Buddhists on one side of them, would the more easily receive an outward varnish of that faith, while the later Dàrd settlements to the west of them, surrounded by, and intermingled with, Musalmàn, would

* See Mr. Drew's excellent Race Map in his "Jummoo and Kashmir." To illustrate the present paper the whole of the lightly shaded region to the south, west and north of Gilgit up to the Muztāgh mountains, should be painted of the same colour as Gilgit, for it is all the home of the Dàrds, though Mr. Drew's plan only permitted him to colour what lies within the Mahārājā of Kashmir's territories.

† The isolated settlements of Dàrds in certain villages of Baltistàn, are apparently of more recent origin and moreover do not bridge the chasm.

‡ Drew's "Jummoo and Kashmir", p. 430.

§ If we are to believe the Tàrikh-i-Rashidi, this had not taken place at the time of its author, Mírzá Haidar's invasion of Dardistàn, in the first half of the 16th century; and, according to Mr. Drew, "Jummoo and Kashmir", page 429, does not seem to have been very completely effected so lately as 30 years ago.

accept Islâm, even if they did not bring it with them from their home. A non-descript paganism (which was probably the religion of the early Dârd) does not easily resist the encroachments of one of the great dogmatic religions when thrown into unprotected contact with it.

Did the Dâh-Hanu *Bròkpàs* come by the same route as their later brethren, or did they come, as some of them say, up the valleys of the Indus and Shayok? In the latter case, it would be very strange if a migration of Dârd, with the whole upper course of the Indus before them, should have stopped and located themselves precisely at that point on its course where a subsequent migration of their kindred, starting from the same point but coming by a different route (latterly at right angles to theirs), happens, some centuries after, to have struck the Indus. It seems more probable that the line of the later migration marks that of the earlier one; and that the ancestors of Dâh-Hanu people took the route viâ Astor, Déosai, the Dràs river, and Kargil, (a route facilitated by the nature of the country in that direction). Crossing by a low Pass into the Indus Valley, they were there arrested by the more difficult mountains on the east of that river. They probably found this district uninhabited; for though the valley of the Indus, both below and above was, and is, occupied by Tibetan States (Baltistân or Little Tibet, and Ladâk); yet so difficult is the gorge of the Upper Indus in this intermediate portion, that all traffic from Skardo (Baltistân) directed towards Ladâk, is diverted round by the parallel Shayok Valley, only crossing back into that of the Indus by the Hanu Pass, beyond Dâh.

Both the Dâh-Hanu people and the Dârd communities (above mentioned) settled on or about the Dràs river, are called by their Tibetan neighbours *Bròk-pà* (often pronounced *Dòk-pà* with a disregard to the spelling peculiar to Tibetans and Englishmen). *Bròk* means a "mountain pasture" or "alp". The reference may be to the pastures to which they in summer take their sheep (as do also their Tibetan neighbours however) or to the fact of their having settled on grounds which were formerly pastures. But the term *Bròk-pà*, or Highlander, seems more likely to have been applied (as Mr. Drew suggests) to a tribe seen to arrive across the high mountains and descending into the Indus Valley, than to a people coming up that valley from its lower portion, and who have not, since their arrival, taken to a life in the high mountains in any greater degree than their neighbours.

A few words of notice are required for the Dràs Dârd of the later immigration just mentioned. Their connection with their parent stock is very close, and betokens a comparatively recent separation. They say that their ancestors came from Darèl; and their settlements extend far up the course of the streams leading down from the uninhabitable plateau of Déosai, which alone separates them from Dârdistân proper.

The furthest settlements of these people at the *embouchure* of the Dràs river into the Indus, approach very closely to, without mixing with, those of their unrecognised kinsmen of the Dàh-Hanu Division. I have collected a few of their grammatical rules and have made a very short comparative table of some of the most ordinary words in the two dialects, by which it will be seen that they are really only different forms of the same mode of speech. These later Dàrds, as far as Dràs, are intermingled with Musalmàn Tibetans or Baltis. At Dràs the former are Sunnis in religion while the latter are Shi'ahs, but lower down near the Indus both are Shi'ahs. The Dàrds of the Dràs district keep themselves quite separate, both as regards marriage and eating, from the Baltis with whom they are intermingled in the same villages, and show also some slight traces of that abhorrence of the cow which is so marked among the Dàh-Hanu people, and which is also prevalent in greater or less intensity among many of the other Dàrds in their own home. To carry the linguistic inquiry a little further back, a comparison with Dr. Leitner's account of the *Astori* form of the Dàrd language will show that the speech of the Dràs *Bròkpàs* is almost identical with that of the people of Astor or Hazora who are one of the chief branches of the Dàrd race in Dàrdistàn, only divided by the river Indus from Gilgit. We have therefore a continuous chain of communities leading from Dàrdistàn proper to the settlements on the Upper Indus at Dàh-Hanu. The small gap that does exist in point of language and dress between these latter and the most advanced (geographically) of their brethren, would seem to indicate a lapse of time occurring between two successive migrations. The foremost may be in all probability considered the earlier, and in either case they profess the religion of their environment.

Thus we have here the furthest extension in this particular direction, of an Indo-Arian migration, a kind of side-eddy from the great stream. As when one of our Indian rivers is filled by the melting snows, if a sudden increase of the flood comes down, one may see the waters, dammed up as it were by the too slowly moving masses in front, trickle off to one side in the endeavour to find a speedier exit. But soon, the temporary increase abating or the circumstances of the ground proving unfavourable, this side channel ceases to flow onward and stagnates to a pool, leaving the traces of its abortive course as far back as the point of divergence. So it would seem that long after the successive floods of Indo-Arians had poured over the long water-parting of the Hindu-Kush, the latest or the most easterly wave (the Dàrd one) expanding in its turn after a vast lapse of time, but finding the southward way blocked in front of it by the earlier comers, sent off side-currents to the south-eastward. These were but puny streams, wanting moreover sufficient *vis à tergo* to carry them onwards when they found themselves amid a foreign element and progressing towards a higher

and more barren country, instead of reaching the fertile plains to which a southerly course had formerly led their brethren, the Hindus. Here therefore they remained, wedged in among alien populations, but connected with their starting point by the living trail of their passage.

Note.—With reference to the question whether any and what degree of connection exists between the Dàrds and the Ghalchahs of the Upper Oxus (see my paper on the latter in the Asiatic Society Bengal, Journal 1876),—it is curious to see that Mr. Drew from native (Dàrd) information classifies one of the Ghalchah tribes, the Wākhi (called by him *Wākhi* or *Gòjāl*) amongst the Dàrds. See Drew's *Jummoo and Kashmir*, p. 457. The termination *k* of the word *Wākhi* is probably a mere Dàrdu affix, (cf. *dostek*, *grestek* for *dost*, *grest*).

Dr. Leitner also (*Dardistân*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 24) says that *Gòjāl* is the name given by the Chilásis to the people between Hunza and Pamer on the Yarkand road. Now these people are the *Sariqolli* Ghalchahs. He adds "there are also *Gòjāls* under a Rájá of *Gòjāl* on the Badakhshán road." These can be no other than the *Wākhi* Ghalchahs, called by Mr. Drew also *Gòjāl*, and the idea suggests itself that perhaps *Gòjāl* may be the Dardu form of the name *Ghalcha* given to the same tribes by their Turki neighbours. It is formed by a mere inversion of the position of the latter two consonants, viz., *l*, and *j* or *ch*: گچال for گچا or چلچا (as *Nucklow* for *Lucknow*). At any rate we see that there is an affinity asserted by the Dàrds between themselves and the Ghalchahs, those neighbours who seem to be, one the most primitive race of the Indian family and the other the most primitive of the Iranians. This assertion of affinity is, to some extent borne out by a comparison of the dialects (see *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for 1876, Paper on the Ghalchah languages).

Some Grammatical forms of the Dàrd dialects spoken by the Bròk-pàs of
(i) *Dàh-Hanu* and of (ii) *Dràs.*

SOUNDS.

There is no broad *ā*, like *aw* in *pawn*, as in some neighbouring dialects and languages.

The accented *ā* to be pronounced as in *father*; unaccented *a* as in *ordinary*, *oriental*.

The accented *é* as *ey* in *they*, but more *staccato*. Unaccented *e* when final is neutral in sound as in the English word *the* when rapidly pronounced before a consonant; this sound approaches that of unaccented *a*. When not final, it is pronounced as in *then* or *yes*.

Besides the long and short *ò, o* and *ù, u*, there is a double-dotted *ö*, pronounced as in German *schön*, and a double-dotted *ü* as in German *mühe* or French *tu*.

With regard to the consonants; the *dh* represents the English soft *th* of *the*, *this*, &c., and not the Hindi aspirated *ṭh* (which will be represented with an apostrophe, as *d'h*, *t'h*). Similarly *gh* is *ğ* (*ghain*) and not the aspirated Hindi consonant.

Tch is the compound used by Mr. Drew, in a short list of Dâh-Hanu words given in his "Jummoo and Kashmir," to represent a *ch* pronounced with the tongue curled back to the roof of the mouth. It stands, as he remarks, to the English *ch* in the same relation that the Hindi palatal *ç* does to the dental *t*, [or that the Wâkhi *sch* does to the English *sh* (see my paper on the Ghalehah Languages in the Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, for 1876); or that *ṛ* (see below) does to *r*].

The *ñ* (with a mark over it) is the French nasal *n* which is felt rather as affecting the previous vowel than as a distinct sound. When followed by a vowel however, it acquires something of the sound of *ng* in the word *young*, but never to the extent of allowing any distinct *g* to be heard as in English *younger*, *hunger*. Thus *moñ* "I" is pronounced exactly like the French *mon* "my." Again *hâñs* "I am" and *byuñs* "I go" would be spelt in French *hanse*, *biounsse*. But *hâña* (where *ñ* is followed by a vowel) is sounded (as regards the medial consonant) somewhat like the English word *hanger* (not as in *anger*).

The *ṛ* (with a dot over it) represents the palatal *r* of Hindi, pronounced with the tongue turned back. It approaches the sound of a *d*.

The *r* (with a dot under it) represents a sound intermediate between an *r* and a French *j* or the *z* in "*azure*;" that is, the *r* is not clearly trilled but slurred over; while the tongue is almost in the position for an *r* a stream of air is passed, without vibration of the tip, between it and the palate. Thus in the word *potro* "grandson", the sound is intermediate between *potro* and *potjo* (as in English we may sometimes hear people pronounce the word "trill" almost like "*chill*").

The *z* (with a dot underneath) represents the French *j* or the *z* in *azure*. It approaches the last letter in sound.

The *y* is only used as a consonant, as in English "yes," "sawyer", &c., (not as in "by," or "every").

I. *Dàh-Hanu Dialect.*

THE SUBSTANTIVE.

Singular.	Plural.
N. <i>éi</i> a ewe <i>éi-sa</i> (before Trans. verbs not in Past Tense)	<i>éia</i> ewes <i>éia-sa</i> (before Trans. Verbs &c.)
G. <i>éia</i> of a ewe	<i>éian</i> of ewes
D. <i>éiara</i> to a ewe	<i>éian-da</i> to ewes
Acc. <i>éi-za</i> a ewe	<i>éian-za</i> ewes
Abl. <i>éi-zano</i> from a ewe <i>éia-süma</i> with a ewe	<i>éian-zano</i> from ewes <i>éian-süma</i> with ewes
Instr. <i>éi-ya</i> by a ewe	<i>éian-ya</i> by ewes
N. <i>à</i> a she goat <i>à-sa</i> (before Trans. Verbs not in Past Tense)	<i>oyo</i> she goats <i>oyo-sa</i> (before Trans. Verbs &c.)
G. <i>oya</i> or <i>às</i> of a she goat	<i>oyon</i> of she goats
D. <i>à-ra</i> to a she goat	<i>oyon-da</i> to she goats
Acc. <i>à-za</i> a she goat	<i>oyon-za</i> she goats
Abl. <i>à-zano</i> from a she goat	<i>oyon-zano</i> from she goats
Instr. <i>à-yé</i> by a she goat	<i>oyo-yé</i> by she goats
N. <i>gót</i> a house <i>gót-sa</i> (before Trans. Verbs not in Past T.)	<i>góti</i> houses <i>góti-sa</i> (before Trans. Verbs &c.)
G. <i>gótas</i> of a house	<i>gótin</i> of houses
D. <i>gótàra</i> to a house	<i>gótin-da</i> to houses
Acc. <i>gótà-dze</i> a house	<i>gotin-dze</i> houses
Abl. <i>gótà-yono</i> from a house <i>gótas-süma</i> with a house	<i>gotin-dono</i> from houses
Instr. <i>gót-ya</i> by a house	<i>gotin-ya</i> by houses

And so with *gó* "a cow," Gen. *gós*, and the other cases *gó*; *góló* "a bull," Gen. *gólos*, other cases *góló*; *biü* "a boy," Gen. *biüs*, other cases *biü*. But Genitive of *tchigà* "a woman" is *tchügoya* while the Dat. is *tchügé-ra*, the Acc. *tchigà-zé*, the Abl. *tchügé-yono* and the Instr. *tchigà-ya*. The post-position *süma* "with", governs the Genitive.

The Plural is irregular though generally ending with a vowel for the nominative and by the same vowel followed by *n* (and by the appropriate post-positions, if any) for the oblique cases.

Thus the plural of *biü* "a boy" is *bé* in the nom. and *bén* in the oblique cases; *gót* "a house", in the plural is *goti* and *gotin*; "cattle" (plural) is *gölé* and *gölen*; "women" is *tshügoyu*, obl. *tshügoyun*. *Boda* "fathers", obl. *bodan*; *apshi* "horses", obl. *apshan*.

ADJECTIVES do not seem to change for the gender.

PRONOUNS.

Singular.		Plural.	
1st Person.			
N. <i>moñ</i> (with intrans. verbs)	} I	<i>bà</i> or <i>beng</i>	} we
<i>mi-sa</i> (with transitive verbs		<i>bà-sa</i>	
or		or	
<i>ma-sa</i> } in the Present and Future)		<i>beng-sa</i> } with transitive verbs in the Present and Future Tenses	
G. <i>mi</i> or <i>miü</i>	my	<i>assü</i>	our
D. <i>mà-ra</i>	to me	<i>assü-ra</i>	to us
Acc. <i>moñ-ze</i> (with Present and Future Tenses)	} me	<i>assü-za</i>	us
Abl. <i>mon-yono</i> or <i>mon-deo</i>	from me	<i>assü-yono</i> or <i>assü-deo</i>	from us
Instr. <i>mi-ya</i> (with Past Tense of Trans. verbs.)	} by me	<i>bà-ya</i> or <i>beng-ya</i>	by us
2nd Person.			
N. <i>tü</i> (with intransitive V.)	} thou	<i>tsi</i>	} ye
<i>ti-sa</i> or <i>tiü-sa</i> (with transitive Verbs in Present and Fut.)		<i>tsi-sa</i> or <i>tsü-sa</i> (with trans. V. in Pres. and Fut.)	
G. <i>tiü</i>	they	<i>tsi</i> .....		your
D. <i>tisà-ra</i>	to thee	<i>tsü-ra</i>	to you
Acc. <i>tu-ze</i> (with Present and Future Tenses)	} thee	<i>tsü-ze</i>	you
Abl. <i>tü-yono</i>	from thee	<i>tsü-yono</i>	from you
Instr. <i>ti-ya</i> (with Past Tense of transitive V.)	} by thee	<i>tsi-ya</i>	by you
3rd Person.			
N. <i>so</i> (fem. <i>sa</i>) or <i>p'ho</i> (with intve. V.)	} he (here or there)	<i>té</i> or <i>p'hé</i> (with intr. V.)	} they (here or there)
<i>so-sa</i> (with trans. V.) Pres. and Fut.		<i>té-sa</i> (with tr. V.)	
G. <i>tes</i> or <i>p'hos</i>	of him (do.)	<i>ten</i> or <i>p'héün</i>	of them
D. <i>té-ra</i>	to him	<i>ten-da</i> or <i>p'héün-da</i>	to them
Acc. <i>té-za</i> (with Pres. Tenses)	} him	<i>tén-za</i> or <i>p'héün-za</i>	them
Abl. <i>té-yono</i>	from him	<i>tén-</i> or <i>p'héün-yono</i>	from them
Instr. <i>so-ya</i> (with Past Tense of Trans. V.)	} by him	<i>té-</i> or <i>p'hé-ya</i>	by them

THE VERB.

The Intransitive Verb "to go".

Byàsti = (in order) to go.*Byà-su* = about to go.*Byuñto* = in going, or, whilst going.*Gyéto* = gone or having gone. *Bo* — go (Imperative).

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Future Tense.

Singular.		Plural.
1. <i>moñ</i> or <i>mi</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{byuñs} \dots \text{I go (masc.)} \\ \text{or will go} \\ \textit{bínis} \dots \text{I go (fem.)} \end{array} \right.$	<i>bà byenis</i> we go or will go
2. <i>tü</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{byuña} \dots \text{thou goest} \\ \textit{bínia} \dots \text{do. (fem.)} \end{array} \right.$	<i>tsi byeni</i> ye go, &c.
3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{so byàlla} \dots \text{he goes} \\ \textit{sa bini} \dots \text{she goes} \end{array} \right.$	<i>té byàn</i> they go, &c.

Aorist.

1. <i>moñ byü</i>	I go	<i>ba byüñ</i>	we go
2. <i>tü byuñ</i>	thou goest	<i>tsi byeni</i>	ye go
3. <i>so byuñ</i>	he goes	<i>té byeni</i>	they go

Past Tense.

1. <i>moñ</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{gös} \dots \text{I went (m.)} \\ \textit{gyis} \dots \text{ditto (fem.)} \end{array} \right.$	<i>bà gyéüñs</i>	we went
2. <i>tü</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{go} \dots \text{thou wentest (m.)} \\ \textit{gyéüa} \text{ ditto (fem.)} \end{array} \right.$	<i>tsi gyé</i> or <i>gyéüi</i>	ye went
3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{so go} \dots \text{he went} \\ \textit{sa gyani} \dots \text{she went} \end{array} \right.$	<i>té gyéani</i> or <i>gyéün</i>	they went

Perfect Tense.

1. <i>mi gyéüs</i> (? <i>gyé-hüs</i>)*	I have (or had) gone	<i>bà gyéüñs</i> (? <i>gyé-hüñs</i>)	we have gone
2. <i>tü gyé-àstu</i>	thou hast gone	<i>tsé gyé-àstin</i>	ye have gone
3. <i>so gyé-àstu</i>	he has gone	<i>té gyé-àstin</i>	they have gone

Future Tense.

moñ byüko..... I will go (the other persons of this tense are the same).

* See Past Tense of Auxiliary Verb "to be".

THE DEFECTIVE AUXILIARY "to be".

Present.

Past.

1. <i>moñ</i> or <i>mi hāñs</i> .....I am	<i>moñ hūs</i> .....I was
2. <i>tü</i> or <i>ti hāñu</i>.....thou art	<i>tü hūa</i> (near) or <i>àstu</i> (far) thou wast
3. <i>so hāñ</i> he is	<i>so hūa</i> or <i>àstu</i>.....he was
1. <i>bā</i> or <i>beng hānis</i> .....we are	<i>bā hūns</i> .....we were
2. <i>tsi hāni</i> .....ye are	<i>tsi hūi</i> or <i>àstin</i> .....ye were
3. <i>té hāni</i> .....they are	<i>té hūn</i> or <i>àstin</i> .....they were

The TRANSITIVE Verb has some peculiarities about its subjects. In the first place, all Tenses except the Past take the second nominative form of Pronouns, *mā-sa*, *ti-sa*, &c., and they add the particle *sa* to substantives in the nominative. Secondly, the *Past Tense* puts the subject in the Instrumentative case, and the object in the nominative, the verbal inflection agreeing with the latter (not in gender, however, but in person), so as almost to assume a Passive form. But as there is a separate Passive, this Tense may be most nearly compared with the Hindustani Transitive Past *e. g.*, *us-ne ek aurat mārī* (Hind.) "he struck a woman"; where the verb is in the feminine to agree with the object "woman". So in the Brökpā dialect: *Tāshis-ya moñ kutudhös* "Tashi struck me", lit. "by Tashi I was struck", where "*kutudhös*" is the Past verb-form agreeing with the 1st person singular. The 1st persons singular and plural (when occurring as objects of the action) have each a particular form of the verb assigned to them, while the remaining persons have a common form.

With this explanation we will proceed to the

CONJUGATION OF A TRANSITIVE VERB.

Kutisti = (in order) to strike, (on account of) striking.

Kuti-su = about to strike.

Kutyuñto = in striking, or whilst striking.

Kutedho = having struck.

IMPERATIVE.

Kuti = strike.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

PRESENT FUTURE TENSE.

Singular.		Plural.
1. <i>mā-sa</i> {	<i>kutyuñs</i> I strike (masc.) or will strike <i>kutñis</i> ditto (fem.)	<i>bā-sa kutyenis</i> .....we strike, &c.
2. <i>tü-sa</i> {	<i>kutyuñā</i> thou strikest (m.) &c. <i>kutiniā</i> ditto (f.)	<i>tsü-sa kutyeni</i> .....ye strike, &c.
3. {	<i>so-sa kutyālla</i> he strikes &c. <i>sā-sa kutini</i> she strikes &c.	<i>té-sa kutyàn</i> .....they strike, &c.

AORIST.

1. <i>mà-sa kutyü</i>	I strike	<i>bà-sa kutyüñ</i>	we strike
2. <i>tü-sa kutyüñ</i>	thou strikest	<i>tsi-sa kutyeni</i>	ye strike
3. <i>so-sa kutyüñ</i>	he strikes	<i>té-sa kutyeni</i>	they strike

PAST TENSE.

Instr.	Object.	Verb.	English.	
S. 1. <i>mi-ya</i>	<i>moñ</i>	{ <i>kutudhös</i> (masc.) }	I was struck	{ by me by thee
2. <i>ti-ya</i>					{ kutedhís (fem.) }
3. <i>so-ya</i>		<i>bà</i>	<i>kutedheñs</i>	we were struck	by him
Pl. 1. <i>beng-ya</i>	(the rest)	<i>kutet</i> {	thou, he, ye or they —wast, was or were struck	{ by us by you by them
2. <i>tsi-ya</i>				
3. <i>teñ-ya</i>				

PERFECT TENSE.

Singular.	Plural.
1. <i>mà-sa kutyüs</i> ... I have (or had) struck	<i>bà-sa kutyüñs</i> we have struck
2. <i>tü-sa kuté-astu</i> thou hast struck	<i>tsi-sa kuté-astin</i> ... ye have struck
3. <i>so-sa kuté-astu</i> ... he has struck	<i>té-sa kuté-astin</i> ... they have struck

FUTURE TENSE.

1. *mà-sa kutiko*..... I will strike (the other persons do not vary from this).

Future Preterit Tense.

1. <i>mà-sa kuti-su hüs</i> ... I was about to strike	<i>bà-sa kuti-su hüñs</i> ... we were about to strike
2. <i>tü-sa kuti-su hūa</i> ... thou &c.	<i>tsi-sa kuti-su hüi</i> ... ye &c.
3. <i>so-sa kuti-su hūa</i> ... he &c.	<i>té-sa kuti-su hūn</i> ... they &c.

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

1. *mà-sa kutetto* if I strike (the other persons and tenses do not vary from this form).

PASSIVE.

1. <i>mi kutellas</i> ... I am or have been struck	<i>beng kutellañs</i> we are or have been struck
2. <i>tü kutella</i> ... thou &c.	<i>tsi kutellan</i> ye &c.
3. <i>so kutella</i> ... he &c.	<i>té kutellan</i> they &c.

When there is a Dative case with a Transitive Past tense, the verb may agree with it in person as it would with the direct object :

E. g. *Tü-ya tü apsh màra dötös* = thou gavest thy horse to me.
Where the verb agrees with the person of the person in the Dative.
In short when there is both a direct object and a dative, one of which is the 1st person (Singular or Plural), the verb agrees with that person by preference, as

E. g. *So-ya moñ gobà-ra dötös* = He gave me to the head-man.
and *so-ya mà-ra apsh ek dötös* = He gave a horse to me.

Where the 1st person (whether direct *object* as in the first example, or *dative* as in the second) governs the verb.

But *mi-ya miü apsh tisà-ra det* = I gave my horse to thee.

BROKPA VERSION OF THE 1ST STORY IN FORBES' PERSIAN GRAMMAR.

Aflatun-ra ek mûsh-ya shunât : *Tü kishiti-à-rü hatuk sar batö*,

Plato-to a man-by it-was-asked: thou ship-to many years satest,
tsò-a-rü na-zito yé zît?
sea-to (wonderful) what was seen?

Aflatun-ya razit : *tsò-a harang mi-ya nà-zito zît*

Plato by it-was-said: of the sea this me-by wonderful was seen
moñ tràlobo pà-'r nüpädös.

I safely side-to arrived.

ANALYSIS : Of the verbs, *shunât* is the Past Tense Transitive answering to the typical *kutet*, with its subject *mûsh-ya* in the Instrumentative case. *Batö* is 2nd Person Sing. of the Past tense of an Intransitive verb, thus answering to the form *go* of the specimen verb given above. *Kishiti-à-rü* is dative, from *kishiti-à* obl. crude form of *kishiti* (a foreign word). *Tsò-a* is oblique of *tso* (the Tibetan word for "lake"). *Nà-zito* (lit. "not seen") is negative of Past Participle of following verb (to see); *zît* is Past tense transitive agreeing with its object *yé* "what" (*i. e.*, not taking the termination in—*ös* or *ëns* appropriated to the 1st persons sing. and plural); the instrumentative case of the agent, *tü-ya*, is understood. *Razit* is the same form as *shunât*, and so is *zît* which follows. *Nüpädös* seems at first sight abnormal, for "to arrive" is an intransitive verb, and yet it has taken the form peculiar to the Past of *transitive* verbs. But in reality it is quite normal: only the Bròkpà verb means "to cause to arrive" (*P. rasāndan*). E. g. *mi-ya dāk nüpāt* "I delivered the post" (lit. 'by me the post was caused to arrive'). Thus *moñ..... nüpädös* of the text, is literally: "I was caused to arrive" or, as we should say: "I arrived." The full form would be: *Kishiti-ya moñ nüpädös* (lit. by the ship I was caused to arrive) "the ship caused me to arrive."

But although this Past tense of Transitive Verbs so much resembles a Passive in construction, yet there is as much distinction kept up in the

mind of the speaker between it and the real Passive, as there is for instance in Hindustani between *us-ne aurat màri*, and *aurat màri gai*. The sense is active though the form is passive. In the one case the agent is known and generally mentioned in the Instrumentative case; in the other the agent is not known or mentioned.

DÁH-HANU LOVE SONG.

Mi mūshū Skishur ganiya kaskyé skyet-tò

I young-man (pro. name mountain below if-I-look
of place)

Bòs payül zi-chuñ; toto huñskyé skyet-tò

Father's home see makes; and above if-I-look

Nümès payül zi-chuñ. Zü-lo Qodà nasīb tüni té.

(name of woman) home see-makes. Pray God fate joined make.
in genitive

"If I look below, from the Skishur mountain,

"My father's home is seen (makes itself seen);

And if I look above,

"Nümé's home is seen. Grant, O God, that
our destinies may be united!"

ANALYSIS: *Skyet-tò* is the Conditional, answering to *kutet-tò*. *Payül* would seem to be compounded of the Tibetan word *yül* "village" and a prefix *pa*. *Zi-chuñ* is composed of the verb "to see", plus the 3rd pers. sing. of the aorist of the verb "to do", answering to the typical form *kutyuñ*. *Zü-lo* is the Brökpà form of the common Tibetan salutation *jü* or *ju-lé*, which is like the Hind. *jī*. *Qodà* (*Khudà*) and *nasīb* are words borrowed from their Musalmàn neighbours, apparently in the absence of any words of the same meaning in their own dialect. *Té* is the Imperative.

II. *Drüs Dialect.*

THE SUBSTANTIVE.

Singular.	Plural.
N. <i>esh</i> or <i>ez</i> a ewe	<i>ezé</i> } ewes
<i>esh-sa</i> (before transitive verbs, not in Past Tense)	<i>ezé-sa</i> }
G. <i>ezo</i> of a ewe	<i>ezo</i> of ewes
D. & Loc. <i>ezu-re</i> to, or at a ewe	<i>ezo-re</i> to, or at ewes
Acc. <i>ezu</i> a ewe	<i>ezo</i> ewes
Abl. <i>ezo-zo</i> from a ewe	<i>ezo-zo</i> from ewes
<i>ezu-séi nalà</i> with a ewe	<i>ezo-séi nala</i> with ewes
Instr. <i>ezu</i> (before Trans.)	<i>ezo-za</i> by ewes
Verbs in Past tense } by a ewe	

N. <i>ài</i> .....a she-goat	<i>äie</i> }	.....she-goats
<i>ài-sa</i> (before Trans.	<i>äie-sa</i> }	
Verbs not in Past Tense)		
G. <i>äio</i> .....of a she-goat	<i>äio</i> .....of she-goats	
D. & Loc. <i>äi-re</i> ...to, or at a she-goat	<i>äio-re</i> .....to, or at she-goats	
Acc. <i>äi</i> .....a she-goat	<i>äio</i> .....she-goats	
Abl. <i>äi-zo</i> .....from a she-goat	<i>äio-zo</i> .....from she-goats	
<i>äi-séi nàlà</i> .....with a she-goat	<i>äio-séi-nàlà</i> .....with she-goats	
Instr. <i>äio</i> ... (before... by a she goat	<i>äio-za</i> .....by she goats	
Trans. verbs in		
Past Tense)		
N. <i>gòr</i> .....a house	<i>gòri</i> }	.....houses
<i>gòr-sa</i> (before Tr. v.	<i>gòri-sa</i> }	
not in Past Tense)		
G. <i>gòr-o</i> .....of a house	<i>gòro</i> .....of houses	
D. & Loc. <i>gòr-re</i> ...to, or at a house	<i>gòro-ra</i> .....to, or at houses	
(sometimes— <i>ra</i>)		
Acc. <i>gòr</i> or <i>gòr-re</i> a house	<i>gòro</i> or <i>gòro-ra</i> ...houses	
Abl. <i>gòr-zo</i> .....from a house	<i>gòro-zo</i> .....from houses	
(in some- <i>no</i>)		
Instr. <i>gòr-i</i> .....by a house	<i>gòro-za</i> .....by houses	
(before Trans.		
Verbs in Past Tense)		

ADJECTIVES do not seem to change for Gender.

PRONOUNS.

N. <i>moñ</i> .....I	<i>bé</i> .....we
<i>moñ-sa</i> (before Tr. V.,	<i>bé-sa</i> (before Tr. V.,
not Past T.)	not Past T.)
G. <i>moñ</i> .....of me, my	<i>asso</i> .....of us, our
D. & Loc. } <i>moñ-re</i> .....to, or at me	<i>asso-re</i> .....to, or at us
Acc. <i>moñ</i> .....me	<i>asso</i> .....us
Abl. <i>moñ-zo</i> .....from me	<i>asso-zo</i> .....from us
Instr. <i>mi</i> (before <i>ṽ</i>) by me	<i>asso-za</i> .....by us
Vbs. in Past Tense)	

N. <i>tù</i>		<i>tsó</i> (f. <i>tsà</i>)	
<i>tú-sa</i> (before Tr.	} thou	<i>tsó-sa</i> (before Tr.	} ye
V. not in Past		V. not in Past	
Tense)		Tense)	
G. <i>tó</i> (or <i>túñ</i> ?).....	of thee, thy	<i>tsó</i> (or <i>tsòñ</i> ?)	of you
D. <i>tù-re</i>	to thee	<i>tsó-re</i>	to you
Acc. <i>tù</i>	thee	<i>tsó</i>	you
Abl. <i>tú-zo</i>	from thee	<i>tsó-zo</i>	from you
<i>túñ-séi náld</i>	with thee	<i>tsó-séi náld</i>	with you
Instr. <i>tó</i>	by thee	<i>tsò-za</i> (<i>tsá-za</i> f.).....	by you

Pronouns Substantival and Adjectival.

Singular.		Plural.	
N. <i>nú</i> or <i>ào</i> or <i>ánu</i> or <i>aiñ</i> (fem. <i>ni</i> or <i>á</i> or <i>ani</i>)	} this	<i>ni</i> or <i>ani</i>	} these
<i>nú-sa</i> or <i>anu-sa</i> (f. <i>ni-sa</i> or <i>ani-sa</i> (before Tr. V. not in Past T.))		<i>ni-sa</i> or <i>ani-sa</i> (before Tr. V. not Past T.)	
G. <i>niso</i> or <i>niséi</i> , or <i>ani-so</i> , <i>ani-séi</i>		<i>nino</i> or <i>anino</i>	
D. <i>nisé-re</i>	to this	<i>nino-ré</i> or <i>anino-ré</i> ...	to these
Acc. <i>nisé</i> -or <i>aiñ</i>	this	<i>nino</i> or <i>anino</i>	these
Abl. <i>nisé-zo</i>	from this	<i>nino-zo</i> or <i>anino-zo</i> ...	from these
Instr. <i>nisi</i>	by this	<i>nino-za</i> or <i>anino-za</i> ...	by these

When these pronouns are prefixed to substantives, their case-affixes are detached from them and placed after the substantives only, in the form peculiar to the latter; *e. g.*, *ani mazàr-tang-o*, not *ani-so mazàr-tang-o*.

N. <i>rò</i> (<i>ré</i> fem)		<i>ré</i> or <i>pero</i> (f. <i>ra</i>)	
<i>rò-sa</i> (f. <i>ré-sa</i>).	} that	<i>ré-sa</i> (f. <i>ra-sa</i>) be-	} those
before Tr. V. not		fore Tr. V. not	
in Past Tense		Past Tense	
G. <i>sò</i> or <i>aso</i> (f. <i>réso</i>)...	of that	<i>reno</i> or <i>peràno</i>	of those
also <i>asé-séi</i>		(f. <i>rano</i>)	
D. <i>sé-ré</i> or <i>asé-ré</i>	to that	<i>reno-re</i> or <i>peràno-re</i> to those	
(f. <i>résé-ré</i>)		(f. <i>rano-re</i>)	
Acc. <i>sè</i> or <i>asé</i> or <i>do</i> ...that		<i>reno</i> or <i>peràno</i>	those
(f. <i>résé</i>)		(f. <i>rano</i>)	
Abl. <i>sé-zo</i> or <i>asé-zo</i> ...from that		<i>reno-zo</i> or <i>peràno-zo</i> ...from those	
(f. <i>résé-zo</i>)		(f. <i>rano-zo</i>)	
Instr. <i>sési</i> or <i>àsi</i>	by that	<i>reno-za</i> or <i>peràno-za</i>....by those	
(f. <i>résé</i>)		<i>za</i> (f. <i>rano-za</i>)	

Relative Pronoun.

Personal Adjectival Pronouns.

N. <i>ké</i> or <i>kési</i> (?)	who	<i>miàno</i>	my own
G. <i>késo</i>	of whom	<i>tàno</i>	they own
D. <i>késé-re</i>	to whom	<i>resano</i> or <i>tomo</i>	his own
Acc. <i>késé</i> (?)	whom	<i>assano</i>	our own
Abl. <i>késé-zo</i> (?)	from whom	<i>tsano</i>	your own
Instr. <i>ké-si</i>	by whom	<i>renano</i> or <i>tomo</i>	their own

The Relative Pronoun is used like the Hindustani *jo*, *jis-ka*, &c., followed by a corresponding demonstrative pronoun later in the sentence: a pronoun *do* seems to be specially employed for this, like *so* in Hindustani, but the other demonstrative pronouns are also used.

THE VERB "to be."

Present and Future.

	M.	F.	
S. 1.	<i>moñ hānos</i> or <i>hañs</i>	<i>moñ hānis</i>	I am or shall be
2.	<i>tu hāno</i> or <i>haoñ</i>	<i>tu hāni</i>	thou art &c.
3.	<i>ro hāno</i> or <i>haoñ</i>	<i>ré hāni</i>	he, she is &c.
Pl. 1.	<i>bé hānis</i> or <i>hāñs</i>	<i>bé hāñs</i>	we are &c.
2.	<i>tso hānet</i> or <i>hāñt</i>	<i>tso hāñt</i>	ye are &c.
3.	<i>ré hāñ</i>	<i>ra hānié</i>	they are &c.

Past (Imperfect).

S. 1.	<i>moñ àsilòs</i>	<i>moñ àsilyis</i>	I was (lit. I was being)
2.	<i>tu àsilo</i>	<i>tu àsilie</i>	thou wast
3.	<i>ro àsilo</i>	<i>ré àsilie</i>	he, she was
Pl. 1.	<i>bé àsilis</i>	<i>bé àsilyis</i>	we were
2.	<i>tso àsilet</i>	<i>tso àsiliet</i>	ye were
3.	<i>ré àsile</i>	<i>ra àsilie</i>	they were

CONDITIONAL.

		Past.	
S. 1.	<i>moñ àsilòzto</i>	<i>moñ àsilazto</i>	if I were
2.	<i>tu àsiloto</i>	<i>tu àsilato</i>	if thou wert
3.	<i>ro àsilo</i>	<i>ré àsilo</i>	if he, she were
Pl. 1.	<i>bé àsilèzto</i>	<i>bé àsilaseto</i>	if we were
2.	<i>tso àsiletto</i>	<i>tso àsilateto</i>	if ye were
3.	<i>re àsilo</i>	<i>rà àsilato</i>	if they were

THE IRREGULAR VERB "to become."

Present.

Infinitive and Supine: *bono* "to become," or, "in order to become."
Imperative, *bé* "become."

	Masc.	Fem.	
S. 1.	<i>moñ bōmos</i>	<i>moñ bomis</i>	I am becoming
2.	<i>tu bé</i>	<i>tu be</i>	thou art becoming
3.	<i>ro beno</i>	<i>ré bene</i>	he, she is becoming
Pl. 1.	<i>bé bonas</i>	<i>bé bonas</i>	we are becoming
2.	<i>tso bat</i>	<i>tso bat</i>	ye are becoming
3.	<i>ré bena</i>	<i>ra bena</i> (?)	they are becoming

Present Future.

S. 1.	<i>moñ bom</i>	<i>moñ bom</i>	I become <i>or</i> shall become
2.	<i>tu besh</i>	<i>tu besh</i>	thou becomest &c.
3.	<i>ro bei</i>	<i>ré bei</i>	he, she becomes &c.
Pl. 1.	<i>bé bon</i>	<i>bé bon</i>	we become &c.
2.	<i>tso bat</i>	<i>tso bâte</i>	ye become &c.
3.	<i>ré ben</i>	<i>ra beni</i>	they become &c.

Imperfect.

S. 1.	<i>moñ bom-alos*</i>	<i>moñ bom-alis</i>	I was becoming
2.	<i>tu biàlo</i> (?)	<i>tu biàle</i> (?)	thou wast becoming
3.	<i>ro biàlo</i> (?)	<i>re biàlie</i> (?)	he, she was becoming
Pl. 1.	<i>bé bōn-alés</i>	<i>be bon-alyis</i>	we were becoming
2.	<i>tso bialet</i> (?)	<i>tso biàliet</i> (?)	ye were becoming
3.	<i>re beñ-ale</i>	<i>ra ben-alie</i>	they were becoming

Perfect.

S. 1.	<i>moñ bilos*</i>	<i>moñ bilies</i>	I have become, <i>i. e.</i> , I am
2.	<i>tu bilo</i>	<i>tu biliesh</i>	thou hast become, <i>i. e.</i> , thou art
3.	<i>ro bilo or bil</i>	<i>ré bili</i>	he, she has become, <i>i. e.</i> , is
Pl. 1.	<i>bé biles</i>	<i>bé bilies</i>	we have become, <i>i. e.</i> , are
2.	<i>tso bilet</i>	<i>tso biliet</i>	ye have become, <i>i. e.</i> , are
3.	<i>ré bilen</i>	<i>ra bilyen</i>	they have become, <i>i. e.</i> , are

Pluperfect.

S. 1.	<i>moñ bilalos</i>	<i>moñ bilalyis</i>	I had become
2.	<i>ta bilàlo</i>	<i>tu bilàlie</i>	thou hadst become
3.	<i>ro bilàlo</i>	<i>ré bilàlie</i>	he, she had become
Pl. 1.	<i>bé bilales</i>	<i>bé bilàlies</i>	we had become
2.	<i>tso bilàlet</i>	<i>tso bilàliet</i>	ye had become
3.	<i>ré bilàle</i>	<i>ra bilàlie</i>	they had become

CONDITIONAL.

Present.

S. 1.	<i>moñ biloxto</i>	<i>moñ bilàxto</i>	if I become
2.	<i>tu biloto</i>	<i>tu bilàto</i>	if thou becomest
3.	<i>ro bilto</i>	<i>ré bilto</i>	if he, she become
Pl. 1.	<i>bé biletto</i>	<i>bé bilàseto</i>	if we become
2.	<i>tso biletto</i>	<i>tsà bilateto</i>	if ye become
3.	<i>ré bilto</i>	<i>rà bilàto</i>	if they become

THE INTRANSITIVE VERB "to go."

Infinitive and Supine : *bozóno* "to go" and "in order to go."

Imperative : *bo* or *bozé* "go."

Verbal Adjectives : *bozensto* "going", *bozeta* "having gone."

Present.

	Masc.	Fem.	English.
S. 1.	<i>moñ bòzumus</i>	<i>moñ bozumis</i>	I am going
2.	<i>tu bòzaoñ</i>		thou art going
3.	<i>ro bòzon</i> or <i>bòzéuñ</i>	<i>re bozani</i>	he, she is going
Pl. 1.	<i>bé bòzunàs</i> or <i>bònàs</i>		we are going
2.	<i>tso bòzàt</i>	<i>tsà bozàt</i>	ye are going
3.	<i>ré bòzena</i>	<i>ra bozén</i>	they are going

Imperfect.

S. 1.	<i>moñ bòzum-alds*</i>	<i>moñ bòzum-alis</i>	I was going
2.	<i>tu bòzalo</i>	<i>tu bòzale</i>	thou wast going
3.	<i>ro bòzalo</i>	<i>re bòzalié</i>	he, she was going
Pl. 1.	<i>bé bònaliès</i>	<i>bé bònaliés</i>	we were going
2.	<i>tso bòzalet</i>	<i>tsà bòzaliét</i>	ye were going
3.	<i>ré bòzenalé</i>	<i>ra bòzenalié</i>	they were going

Present Future.

S. 1.	<i>moñ bòzum</i>		I go or shall go
2.	<i>tù bòzé</i>		
3.	<i>ro bòzéi</i>	<i>ré bòzéi</i>	
Pl. 1.	<i>bé bòzon</i> (or <i>bon</i> ?)		
2.	<i>tso bòzàt</i>	<i>tsà bozàté</i>	
3.	<i>ré bòzen</i>	<i>ra bozeni</i>	

Future.

S. 1.	<i>moñ bōzum bil</i>	...	...	...	I shall go &c.
2.	<i>tu bōzé bil</i>	...	...	...	thou wilt go
3.	<i>ro bōzéi</i>	...	...	...	he will go
Pl. 1.	<i>bé bōzon bil</i>	...	...	...	we shall go
2.	<i>tso bōzāt bil</i>	...	...	...	ye will go
3.	<i>ré bōzén bil</i>	...	...	...	they will go

Compound Future.

S. 1.	<i>moñ bōno hāñs</i>	...	...	...	I am to go
2.	<i>tu bōno haoñ</i>	...	...	...	thou art to go
3.	<i>ro bōno haoñ</i>	...	...	...	he is to go
Pl. 1.	<i>bé bōno hāñis</i>	...	...	...	we are to go
2.	<i>tso bōno hāñet</i>	...	...	...	ye are to go
3.	<i>ré bōno hāñ</i>	...	...	...	they are to go

Past.

S. 1.	<i>moñ gās*</i>	<i>moñ gyés</i>	I went
2.	<i>tu gā*</i>	<i>tu gyé</i>	thou wentest
3.	<i>ro gāu*</i>	<i>ré gyéë</i>	he, she went
Pl. 1.	<i>bé gyès</i>	<i>bé gyéés</i>	we went
2.	<i>tso gyet</i>	<i>tsā gyèti</i>	ye went
3.	<i>ré gyé</i>	<i>ra gyéé</i>	they went

Perfect and Pluperfect.

S. 1.	<i>moñ gālōs*</i>	<i>moñ gālīs</i>	I have <i>or</i> had gone
2.	<i>tu gālō</i>	<i>tu gālē</i>	thou hast <i>or</i> hadst gone
3.	<i>ro gālō</i>	<i>ré gālīé</i>	he, she has <i>or</i> had gone
Pl. 1.	<i>bé gālīs</i>	<i>bé gālyīs</i>	we have <i>or</i> had gone
2.	<i>tso gālet</i>	<i>tsā gāliet</i>	ye have <i>or</i> had gone
3.	<i>ré gālē</i>	<i>ra gālīé</i>	they have <i>or</i> had gone

CONDITIONAL.

Present Future.

S. 1.	<i>moñ bozeto</i>	...	...	...	if I go
2.	<i>tu bozeto</i>	...	...	...	if thou goest
3.	<i>ro bozeito</i>	...	...	...	if he goes
Pl. 1.	<i>bé bozunto</i>	...	...	...	if we go
2.	<i>tso bozātto</i>	...	...	...	if ye go
3.	<i>ré bozeñto</i>	...	...	...	if they go

Preterit.

S. 1.	<i>moñ gālōsto</i>	<i>moñ gālūsto</i>	if I had gone
2.	<i>tu gālōto</i>	<i>tu gālāto</i>	if thou hadst gone
3.	<i>ro gielto</i>	<i>ré gielto</i>	if he had gone

Pl. 1.	<i>bé gàlexto</i>	<i>bé galàseto</i>	if we had gone
2.	<i>tso gàletto</i>	<i>tsà galàteto</i>	if ye had gone
3.	<i>ré gielto</i>	<i>rà galàto</i>	if they had gone

	Masc.	Fem.	English.
Pl. 1.	<i>bé gàlexto</i>	<i>bé galàseto</i>	if we had gone
2.	<i>too gàletto</i>	<i>tsà galàteto</i>	if ye had gone
3.	<i>ré gietto</i>	<i>tà galato</i>	if they had gone

Probably all these tenses (Imperfect or Past, Perfect, and Pluperfect) are compounded of some auxiliary verb-tense running as follows (there is actually such a verb meaning "I came, &c.") :

	Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
S.	<i>alòs</i>	<i>alis</i>	Pl.	<i>alès</i>	<i>aliès</i>
	<i>alo</i>	<i>alé</i>		<i>alet</i>	<i>aliet</i>
	<i>alo</i>	<i>alié</i>		<i>alè</i>	<i>aliè</i>

to which are prefixed the various verbal stems or complete verb tenses, person for person. In many cases the combination has subsequently suffered from elision.

E. g., *bil-àlòs*, &c., would be an uncorrupted example. The stem and the auxiliary tense are both perfect, and the former does not vary with the persons.

In *gàlos*, *gàlo*, &c., the verb root (probably *gá*) has suffered its vowel to coalesce with the initial vowel of the auxiliary.

In *bozum-alòs*, *boz-alo*, &c., the auxiliary has destroyed the final syllables of the verb tense, excepting in the 1st pers. Sing. and the 3rd pers. Plural.

In *àsilòs*, *bilòs*, &c., the initial vowel of the auxiliary has itself suffered alteration from the pressure of the verb-root before it.

In the root *as* (of *àsilos* "I was"), and the root *bi* or *be* (of *bilos* ? *bi-alòs*, "I have become"), we have perhaps representatives of the universal Arian roots, *bhu* and *as* for the idea of "being" or "existence."

In some verbs the terminations are *òs*, *-ò*, *-ò*.

If again we subdivide the auxiliary tense *alòs*, &c., into its root *al* and its terminations *-òs*, *-o*, *-o*, *ès*, *-et*, and *-e*, it would appear that it was by the addition of these latter to the Present Future Tense, that the Present Tense was formed :

<i>E. g.</i>	Pr. Fut. Tense.	Termn. Present Tense.	Pr. Fut. Tense.	Termn. Present Tense.
<i>bozum</i>	<i>òs</i> ...	<i>bòzumus</i> .	<i>bòzon</i>	<i>ès</i> <i>bòzonàs</i> .
<i>bozé</i>	<i>o</i> ...	<i>bozao</i> (ñ).	<i>bòzàt</i>	<i>et</i> <i>bòzàt</i> .
<i>bozéi</i>	<i>o</i> ...	<i>bozéu</i> (ñ).	<i>bòzen</i>	<i>é</i> <i>bòzena</i> .

TRANSITIVE VERBS are conjugated like intransitive ones. But they show traces of the quasi-Passive formation with the subject in the Instrumentative Case, such as we find in the Past Tenses in Hindustani and in

the Dàrd dialect of Dàh-Hanu (see above). As in the latter, the subject takes a special form in the Past tenses, the singular taking an affix or termination, generally *-i*, and the Plural *-za* (cf. Dàh-Hanu *-ya*); but unlike in that dialect the verb agrees with its proper subject (in the Instrumentative case) and not with its object. In the other Tenses the subject takes the affix *-sa* as in the Dàh-Hanu dialect. This in both dialects is now a simple variety of the nominative.

These facts I think corroborate the hypothesis that the Dàh-Hanu people formed an earlier migration than the Dràs Dàrds. For they retain most fully the quasi-Passive formation of the Past of Transitive Verbs, which we find again in the Indian dialects (from which they had less opportunity of borrowing than the Dràs people had). It was therefore perhaps an early Dàrd formation of which all but slight traces have been lost by the later Dàrds.

THE TRANSITIVE VERB "to strike."

Infinitive and Supine = *kutino* "to strike" and "in order to strike."
= *kutiokuni* "in striking."

Imperative: *kuté* "strike."

Verbal Adjectives: *kutiensto* "striking," *kutéta* and *kutetato* "having struck."

Present.			
	Masc.	Fem.	English.
S. 1.	<i>moñ-sa kutémus</i>	<i>moñ-sa kutémis</i>	I am striking
2.	<i>tu-sa kutàon</i>	<i>tu-sa kutàñ (?)</i>	thou art striking
3.	<i>ro-sa kuténo or kutéuñ</i>	<i>ré-sa kuténi</i>	he, she is striking
Pl. 1.	<i>bé-sa kutónàs</i>	<i>bé-sa kutònàs</i>	we are striking
2.	<i>tso-sa kutiàt</i>	<i>tsà-sa kutiàt</i>	ye are striking
3.	<i>ré-sa kuténa (or kuty- òna.</i>	<i>rà-sa kutéiñ (?)</i>	they are striking

		Present	Future.
S. 1.	<i>moñ-sa kutem</i>	.....	I strike <i>or</i> shall strike
2.	<i>tu-sa kutez or kuté</i>	.....	thou strikest <i>or</i> wilt strike
3.	<i>ro-sa kutéi</i>	<i>ré-sa kutéi</i>	he, she strikes <i>or</i> will strike
Pl. 1.	<i>be-sa kutòn</i>	.....	we strike <i>or</i> shall strike
2.	<i>tso-sa kutiàt</i>	.....	ye strike <i>or</i> will strike
3.	<i>ré-sa kuten</i>	<i>rà-sa kuteni</i>	they strike <i>or</i> will strike

Compound Future.			
S. 1.	<i>moñ-sa kutiòno hans</i>	<i>moñ-sa kutiòno hànìs</i>	I am to strike
2.	<i>tu-sa kutiòno haoñ</i>	<i>tu-sa kutiòno hànì</i>	thou art to strike
3.	<i>ro-sa kutiòno haoñ</i>	<i>ré-sa kutiòno hànì</i>	he, she is to strike

Pl. 1. <i>bé-sa kutiðno hânis</i>	<i>bé-sa kutiðno haiñs</i>	we are to strike
2. <i>tso-sa kutiðno hânet</i>	<i>tsà-sa kutiðno haiñt</i>	ye are to strike
3. <i>ré-sa kutiðno hàñ</i>	<i>re-sa kutiðno hânié</i>	they are to strike

Imperfect.

S. 1. <i>moñ-sa kutemâlôs</i>	<i>moñ-sa kutemâlîs</i>	I was striking
2. <i>tu-sa kutàlo (kutàlôr)</i>	<i>tu-sa kutàlé</i>	thou wast striking
3. <i>ro-sa kutélo</i>	<i>ré-sa kutélié</i>	he, she was striking
Pl. 1. <i>bé-sa kutonâlës</i>	<i>bé-sa kutonâlyis</i>	we were striking
2. <i>tso-sa kutiàlet</i>	<i>tsa-sa kutiàliet</i>	ye were striking
3. <i>ré-sa kutenalé</i>	<i>rà-sa kutenalié</i>	they were striking

Past.

S. 1. <i>mi kutàs</i> (in some verbs -òs)	<i>mi kutiès</i>	I struck
2. <i>tò kutà(-o)</i>	<i>to kuté</i>	thou struckest
3. <i>se-si kutàu(-o)</i>	<i>re-si kutî</i>	he, she struck
Pl. 1. <i>asso-za kutiès</i>	<i>asso-za kutiées</i>	we struck
2. <i>tso-za kutièt</i>	<i>tsa-za kutièti</i>	ye struck
3. <i>reno-za kutié</i>	<i>rano-za kutië</i>	they struck

Perfect and Pluperfect.

S. 1. <i>mi kutàlôs</i>	<i>mi kutàlîs</i>	I have <i>or</i> had struck
2. <i>tò kutalo (kuté-àsilôr)</i>	<i>tò kutàli</i>	thou hast <i>or</i> hadst struck
3. <i>se-si kutàlo</i>	<i>re-si kutàli</i>	he, she has <i>or</i> had struck
Pl. 1. <i>asso-zo kutiàlis</i>	<i>asso-za kutiàlyis</i> (?)	we have <i>or</i> had struck
2. <i>tso-za kutiàlet</i>	<i>tso-za kutiàliet</i> (?)	ye have <i>or</i> had struck
3. <i>reno-za kutiàlé</i>	<i>rano-za kutiàli</i>	they have <i>or</i> had struck

CONDITIONAL.

Present.

S. 1. <i>moñ-sa kuteto</i>	if I strike
2. <i>tu-sa kuteto</i>	if thou striketh
3. <i>ro-sa kutéito</i>	if he strike
Pl. 1. <i>bé-sa kutunto</i>	if we strike
2. <i>tso-sa kutiàtto</i>	if ye strike
3. <i>re-sa kuteñto</i>	if they strike

Past.

<i>moñ-sa kutàlòxto</i>	if I have <i>or</i> had struck
<i>tu-sa kutàlòto</i>	if thou hast <i>or</i> hadst struck
<i>ro-sa kutilto</i>	if he has <i>or</i> had struck
<i>bé-sa kutàlexto</i>	if we have <i>or</i> had struck
<i>tso-sa kutàletto</i>	if ye have <i>or</i> had struck
<i>ré-sa kutilto</i>	if they have <i>or</i> had struck

TRANSLATION OF STORIES FROM FORBES'

PERSIAN GRAMMAR.

- 1.* Ek-i kôzâlo Afratun-re: "Lâ bariri nawi-za (? ra)
one (Instr.) had-asked Plato (Loc.) many years ship in (Loc.)

bêtalô ; tò sara-za (? ra) lào safar t'hâ. Tò sara
(thou) hast-sat thou (Instr.) sea in (Loc.) much voyage madest. Thou (Ins.) sea
-za (? ra) 'ajâib zok pâshâ?" Afratun-i rājāu: "moñ salâmat-gi
in (Loc.) wonders what sawest? Plato (Instr.) said: I in-safety
sara-zo kâtôs chupe-re, âiñ mi pâshâs 'ajâib.
sea from came-out shore to this I (Instr.) saw wonderful.

2. Ek paqîrek gâu grestok-o dârr-ré di zek mangâu
a beggar went farmer's door to (?) something demanded

Ara-no jawâb kâti: Gôr-ré chéi nûsh. Paqîr-i
Inside from answer came-out (f.): House (Loc.) woman is not. Beggar (Instr.)
rājāu: mi tiki tòrik mangâlôs mi chéi né mangâs,
said: I (Instr.) bread piece had-demanded I (Instr.) (the) woman not demanded,
moñ-re à jawâb lâdôs.†
me to this (f.) answer arrived.

4. Ek hakîm dezgâo bôzalo mâzâr-tang-ra; tòmo pâsho muka-re
a doctor daily used-to-go grave-yard-to his own shawl face to

paliéta bôzalo. Zâko-za kozié: Ani-séi zok sabab hâni?
having-wrapped used-to-go. People (Instr.) asked: this of what reason is (f.)?

Hakîm-i rājāu: Ani mâzâr-tang-o mùo-re moñ sharmanda
Doctor (Instr.) said: This (f.) grave-yard (Gen.) dead (Loc.) I ashamed

hânôs: mioñ rābâti keta mùé.
am: my medicine having-eaten (they) died.

8. Ek manuzo-re bwâro krum lâdo. Ek dôstek (mubâarak)
bubârek
a man to big work (office) arrived. A friend congratulation

t'hiôno âlo. Sé-si kôzâu: Tu koi bilo, ki âlo? So dôst
in-order-to-make came. That (one) asked: Thou who art, why camest? His friend

* The numbers are those of the stories in the order given in Forbes' Persian Grammar.

† Here the verb seems to be governed by the person of the Locative or Dative as in other cases it is by that of the Instrumentative. Normally one would think this ought to be *moñ-re à jawâb lâdô* or *moñ à jawâb —*
me to this answer reached (3rd pers.) I this answer received (1st pers.)

sharmanda bilo, ràjàu: Tu-sa moñ suzân t'hé nùsh dà.
ashamed has-become, said: Thou (2nd nom.) me recognition makest is not ?

Moñ to purono döst bilòs, moñ to mutro ròno àlòs; moñ parudòs
I thy old friend am I thy presence to weep came; I heard
tu shèiloñ t'hé.
thou blind makest (becomest).

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF A FEW ORDINARY WORDS IN
THE DRAS DIALECTS OF DAH-HANU AND OF DRAS.

N. B. Kashmiri words added for comparison are marked K. and Gaddi (Hindi) G. H. Resemblances to ordinary Hindi are not noted.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Dàh-Hanu.</i>	<i>Dràs.</i>
man	mùsh	manuzo
father	bò	bàbo
mother	ài	àzé (cf. Gaddi Hindi <i>ijji</i>)
son	biü	push
daughter	moléi	dih
girl	.....	molaï.
child	sinà	balé
elder brother	bàyo	kàko
younger brother	rzà	zà
wife or woman	tchigà	chéi
grandson	potro	potro
heart	hò	hio
stomach	krütpa (Tib.)	dér
head	shish	shish
eye	atchi	àché (K. <i>ach</i>)
ear	kàni	kon
nose	nutò	noto
tooth	dàni	doni
beard	rmaghrà	dàï
breast	krö	kroö
waist	doko	dakhri
hand	hàt'h	hàt
foot	küti	pé
lower leg	kankan	kiñ (pl. kiñyi)
knee	kutò	kuto
thigh	patàli	patàlò

<i>English.</i>	<i>Dàh-Hanu.</i>	<i>Dràs.</i>
bone	àti	àti
hair	zàkur	zàku
mouth	uzi	àzi (K. <i>às</i>)
lip	öti	òtò { azino = upper karino = lower
tongue	gip	zìp
chin	.....	mulsutì or chamukhi
finger	güli	añguyé
name	nüñi	nòm
grass	ghàs	kash
road	pùn	pon
apricot	zui	zuzu
leaf	pani	paté
birch (tree)	rüsh (züsh)	zozì
wheat	güm	güm
barley	ghono	yò
field	.....	trèsh
cultivator	.....	grestok ;* grest (<i>gròst</i> Kashmir)
flower	pusho	pushi
cow	gô	gào
crow	qù	korkus
horse	àpsh	àshp
dog	shüà	shuñ (Kashm. <i>hün</i>)
cat	bülù	pushu
ram	churdi	karà
ewe	èi	esh
he-goat	mingyar	mugir
she-goat	à	ài
bull	gôlo	dòno
calf	bitok	batsar (<i>watsir</i> , K.)
lamb	run	urun (<i>urñu</i> , G. H.)
kid	chal	chàl (<i>chélu</i> , G. H.)
cattle	gölé	dòni (<i>dand</i> , G. H.)
male	p'hòg (Tib.)	bìro
female	mòg (Tib.)	soñti
milk	düt	dud
cream	üsprís	shamal
wool	pash	pash
bear	.....	ish
frog	chüstràk	manòk

* *ok* or *ek* seems to be a termination and not a part of the word. Cf. *dòstok* for *dòst*.

*English.**Dàh-Hanu.**Dràs.*

sun
 star
 earth (ground)
 moon
 mountain
 pasture (alp)
 rock
 ravine
 river
 water-course, canal
 rain
 snow
 avalanche
 ice
 water
 year
 month
 day
 spring (season)
 summer
 autumn
 winter
 to-day
 yesterday
 to-morrow
 the day before yes-
 terday
 night
 work
 bread
 village
 house
the town of Dràs
 door
 bow
 arrow
 iron
 smell
 big
 little

süri
 turi
 pà
 gyün
 rüng
 nirda
 churr
 bàrr
 sin
 gyàp
 charchü
 àpu

 gañs (Tib.)
 üà
 sar
 muñs
 dis
 bazun
 ulo
 sharò
 yuno
 àsh
 run
 rutti
 dòg-dis
 ràt
 krüm
 manili
 bön
 gòt
 Hembabs (Tib.)
 dàrr
 shà
 qùn
 chingàr
 ghun
 bono
 so

sur
 tàré
 sum
 yùn (*zùn* K.)
 qaniya
 shiai
 chir
 shung
 sin
 yàp
 mèg
 hin (K. *shin*), àzo (rain or snow)
 hinai
 sòr
 wéi
 barir
 moñs (*màns* K.)
 chag
 bàzòno
 uwàlo
 shàré
 yòno
 àsh
 ràti
 krum
 tiki
 gòr
 Hunmas
 darr
 dàhnu
 qòn (K. *kàn*)
 chimir
 gon
 bwàro
 chuno (*chun* Tib.)

<i>English.</i>	<i>Dàh-Hanu.</i>	<i>Dràs.</i>
old	.....	puròno *
new	nō	nào
wet	haridho	azo
dry	shuko	shuko
black	kyono	kino
white	sno	zho
red	lodo	lào
I	moñ (<i>Gen. miü</i>)	moñ (<i>Gen. mioñ, K. miön</i>)
we	bà or beng (<i>obl. assü</i>)	bé (<i>obl. asso, K. as</i>)
thou	tü	tü
ye	tsi (<i>obl.-tsü</i>)	tso (<i>K. tse</i>)
this (masc.)	so (<i>obl. té</i>) (<i>K. so</i>)	nu (<i>obl. nisé</i>)
this (fem.)	sa	ni
these (m.)	té (<i>obl. ten</i>)	ni (<i>obl. nino</i>)
that (m.)	p'ho	ro (<i>obl. sé</i>)
that (f.)	p'ha	ré (<i>obl. résé</i>)
those (m.)	p'hé (<i>obl. p'héün</i>)	ré or però (<i>obl. reno</i>)
those (f.)	.....	rà (<i>obl. rano</i>)
who (relve.)	.....	kési
who?	ko	kóï
what?	yé	zok
beyond	beski	pàri
this side of	azü	wàri
towards	suri, lokhshyé	wari
there yonder	pàri	perà
with	süma or tsi-süma	séi-nàlà
thus	hang	
first (adv.)	yàr	meza
there	potsi	
there is	là, (pl. làn) or bet	
much	.....	lào
or		
many	.....	lài
very	.....	là
I do	chü or tü	t'hìono (to do)
I did	tet	t'hàs

* Pronounced also *prono* and *prân*; as in *Prân-Dràs*, a village near Dràs, called by Englishmen *Pándràs*, and sometimes wrongly derived from *Päyin* "low." The name given by Moorcroft for the Dràs lucerne grass, viz. *prangos*, is perhaps merely *prân-kâsh* "old grass," i. e. "hay;" as lucerne forms the winter fodder of the cattle in the state of hay.

*English.**Dùh-Hanu.**Dràs.*

strike	kuté	kuté (<i>Inf.</i> kutiòno and diòno)
died	mü	muñ (<i>Inf.</i> miriòno)
broke	pitit	potàu
hear	qun-té (imp.)	paruzòno (<i>Inf.</i>)
write	zbri-té (imp.)	likiòno (<i>Inf.</i>)
drink	pi (imp.)	piòno (<i>Inf.</i>)
eat	.....	ké (imp.) (K. <i>khe.</i>)
sleep (imp.)	sò	sò, (<i>Inf.</i> sòno)
sleep (subs.)	nish	nîsh
lick	li	
weave	bo (imp.)	wiòno (<i>Inf.</i>)
cultivate, plough	bahé (imp.)	bàhn t'hiòno (<i>Inf.</i>)
give	dé	dé (<i>Inf.</i> diòno)
see	zi	pàshé
look	skyé	tṛakié
towards	lokh-skyé	
downwards	kà-skyé) <i>ko</i> = down.	
	<i>Astori</i>)	
upwards	huñ-skyé (<i>hunn</i> = above. <i>Astori</i>)	
lost	nut	noto
come (imp.)	yé	é (<i>wolo</i> K.)
came	ùlla	àlo
rise	öté	uté
dig	akü	okoé
I speak	razuñs	ràzem
one	ek	ek
two	dü	du
three	trà	tṛé
four	chorr	chàr
five	puñsh	poñsh
six	shà	shà
seven	sàt	sàt
eight	art	art
nine	nü	nàu
ten	dàsh	dàis
eleven	kudish	akāi
twelve	budish	buai
thirteen	trübish	tṛöñi (tṛo'i)
fourteen	chudish	chodēi

<i>English.</i>	<i>Dāh-Hanu.</i>	<i>Drās.</i>
fifteen	pāndish	pazileñ
sixteen	shōbish	shoñi (sho'i)
seventeen	satuñish	satāi
eighteen	artuñish	artāi
nineteen	kūnjā (? for ek-ün- biza 20-1	kuni (? for ek-un-bi) (20-1)*
twenty	bizā	bī
twenty-one	biza-ek	bī-ek
thirty	bizé-dāsh (20 + 10)	tṛi
forty	du-buḥu (2 × 20)	dū-bio (2 × 20)
fifty	du-buḥu-dāsh (2 × 20 + 10)	dūbio ga dāi (2 × 20 + 10)
sixty	tra-buḥu (3 × 20)	tṛé-bio (3 × 20)
seventy	tra-buḥu-dāsh	tṛé-bio ga dāi
eighty	chār-buḥu	chār-bio
ninety	chār-buḥu-dāsh	chār-bio ga dāi
hundred	sho	shāl

On Representations of Foreigners in the Ajantā Frescoes.—By

RAJENDRALĀLA MITRA, LL. D., C.I.E.

(With 4 plates.)

The Ajantā Pass first came to the notice of Europeans during the great battle of Asāyi, which broke down the Marhattā power; but the caves near it were not visited by any Englishman until several years afterwards. According to Mr. Burgess, some officers of the Madras army were the first to visit them in 1819, and Col. Morgan of the Madras army wrote a short notice of them, which appeared in Mr. Erskine's 'Remains of the Buddhists in India.' Then followed Lieut. J. E. Alexander in 1824, and his account was published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1829.† Dr. Bird visited the place by order of Sir John Malcolm in 1828, at the same time when Capt. Grisley and Lieut. Ralp were at the place. The account of the former appeared in his "Researches into the Cave Temples of Western India," a meagre and faulty account, utterly untrustworthy for all historical purposes. The description of the latter appeared in this Journal.‡ It is graphic and en-

* These seem to retain a trace (*k* for *ek*) of the deducted unit itself, which Sanskrit had lost (cf. *unavinsati*), but of which Pāli seems to show the original presence, (*ekūnavinsati*).

† Transactions Rl. As. Soc., I, p. 557.

‡ Ante V.

thusiastic, but calculated more to rouse than to allay the curiosity of the reader. Mr. Burgess says, "A somewhat interesting and correct topographical account of them, was subsequently (1839) published in the "Bombay Courier", and republished in a pamphlet form, but I have not seen the brochure. Soon after, came out Mr. Fergusson's description in his *Memoir on the "Rock-cut Temples of India,"* (1843) and laid the foundation of a critical study of these remarkable works of art. It drew to them the attention of the Court of Directors, and Capt. Gill was, six or seven years after, deputed to prepare facsimile drawings of the fresco paintings which adorn most of the caves. His report was published in 1855, but it was meagre, like the works of his predecessors, and subserved, like them, only to whet the desire for further information. Dr. Wilson's account, in his paper on the "Ancient Remains of Western India", published in 1850, in the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society**, is a mere resumé of what was then known, and Dr. John Muir's subsequent notice professes to give nothing more than a foretaste of what may be seen at the place. Dr. Bhau Dájí came to Ajantá in 1865, and took facsimiles of most of the inscriptions, some of which had been previously noticed by James Prinsep, and published translations of them in the *Bombay Journal*.† The translations are generally correct and of great value, but the general remarks on the nature of the caves and their ornaments are brief and not always satisfactory. The learned gentleman had the intention of writing a separate paper on the subject, but his untimely and lamented death prevented his carrying out the intention. Since his death several notices have appeared in the 'Indian Antiquary' which are highly interesting, but none of them is exhaustive.

When Major Gill's copies of these curious works of art were sent to Europe, it was expected that antiquarians in England would take them in hand, and submit to the public a full and comprehensive critical account of their character, and the subjects they portray. But the copies were destroyed by fire in the Sydenham Crystal Palace, and nothing came of them. In the meantime the originals suffered greatly from leakage in the caves and want of care, and it was apprehended that in a few years more they would be totally lost. A representation was accordingly made to Government to adopt some measures for their preservation. Thereupon a party of draftsmen, under the superintendence of Mr. Griffiths, Principal of the Art School at Bombay, was deputed in 1872-73 to prepare copies of all the printings which were still legible. The result was a "collection of excellent copies of four large wall-paintings covering 122 square feet of canvas, 160 panels of ceiling, aggregating about 280 square feet, 16 moulds from the sculptures, and several drawings." In reporting on these Mr. Griffiths says :

* Vol. III, pp. 71ff.

† Vol. VII.

"The artists who painted them, were giants in execution. Even on the vertical sides of the walls some of the lines which were drawn with one sweep of the brush struck me as being very wonderful; but when I saw long delicate curves drawn without faltering with equal precision upon the horizontal surface of a ceiling, where the difficulty of execution is increased a thousand-fold, it appeared to me nothing less than miraculous. One of the students, when hoisted up on the scaffolding, tracing his first panel on the ceiling, naturally remarked that some of the work looked like a child's work; little thinking that what appeared to him up there as rough and meaningless, had been laid in by a cunning hand, so that when seen at its right distance, every touch fell into its proper place.

"The condition of mind in which these paintings at Ajantā were originated and executed must have been very similar to that which produced the early Italian paintings of the fourteenth century, as we find much that is in common. Little attention paid to the science of art, a general crowding of figures into a subject, regard being had more to the truthful rendering of a story than to a beautiful rendering of it; not that they discarded beauty, but they did not make it the primary motive of representation. There is a want of aerial perspective—the parts are delicately shaded, not forced by light and shade, giving the whole a look of flatness—a quality to be desired in mural decoration.

"Whoever were the authors of these paintings, they must have constantly mixed with the world. Scenes of every-day life, such as preparing food, carrying water, buying and selling, processions, hunting-scenes, elephant-fights, men and women engaged in singing, dancing, and playing on musical instruments, are most gracefully depicted upon these walls; and they could only have been done by men who were constant spectators of such scenes, by men of keen observation and retentive memories. * * * * In every example that has come under my observation, the action of the hands is admirable and unmistakeable in conveying the particular expression the artist intended."*

Adverting to the second picture he says: "Parts of this picture are admirably executed. In addition to the natural grace and ease with which she is standing, the drawing of the woman holding a casket in one hand, and a jewel with a string of pearls hanging from it in the other, is most delicately and truly rendered. The same applies to the woman seated on the ground in the left hand corner. The upward gaze and sweet expression of the mouth are beautifully given. The left hand of the same woman...is drawn with great subtlety and tenderness."† "The third picture", he remarks, "contains eight figures and portions of three others, all of which are seated or standing upon large lotus flowers with nimb round the heads. The

* Indian Antiquary, III. 26.

† Ibid., loc. cit.

action of some of the figures, especially the standing ones, bears such a very striking resemblance to what is characteristic of the figures in Christian art, that they might have been taken from some mediæval Church, rather than from the caves of Ajantâ. The delicate foliage which fills in the spaces between the figures will give some idea of the power of these old artists as designers, and also of their knowledge of the growth of plants.*

Referring to a picture in cave No. 16 he observes: "This picture, I consider, cannot be surpassed in the history of art. The Florentine could have put better drawing and the Venetian better colour, but neither could have thrown greater expression into it. The dying woman, with drooping head, half-closed eyes, and languid limbs, reclines on a bed the like of which may be found in any native house of the present day. She is tenderly supported by a female attendant, whilst another, with eager gaze, is looking into her face, and holding the sick woman's arms, as if in the act of feeling her pulse. The expression on her face is one of deep anxiety, as she seems to realize how soon life will be extinct in one she loves. Another female behind is in attendance with a *pankâ*, whilst two men on the left are looking on with the expression of profound grief depicted in their faces. Below are seated on the floor other relations, who appear to have given up all hope, and to have begun their days of mourning,—for one woman has buried her face in her hands, and, apparently, is weeping bitterly."†

And he sums up the value of the whole by saying—"For the purposes of art-education, no better examples could be placed before an Indian art-student than those to be found in the caves of Ajantâ. Here we have art with life in it, human faces full of expression,—limbs drawn with grace and action, flowers which bloom, birds which soar, and beasts that spring, or fight, or patiently carry burdens: all are taken from Nature's book—growing after her pattern, and in this respect differing entirely from Muhammadan art, which is unreal, unnatural, and therefore incapable of development."‡

It is to be regretted, however, that as yet no attempt has been made to secure for the public a detailed, descriptive, critical and historical account of these relics. At one time a proposition was made to place the drawings at the disposal of Mr. Fergusson for the purpose; but, I believe, it has since fallen through.

The Government of India has, however, in the meantime, caused photographic impressions to be taken of Mr. Griffiths' drawings, and copies thereof sent to Societies interested in Indian Archæology. Three batches of these photographs have, from time to time, been received by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and they fully bear out Mr. Griffiths' remarks regarding their value.

* Loc. cit., p. 27.

† Ibid., p. 27.

‡ Ibid., p. 28.

A large number of the photographs represent architectural details and floral scrolls of much importance as illustrations of ancient art-designs in this country, and are well worthy of careful study. There are others representing scenes in the legendary life of Buddha, which are of considerable value in connexion with the antiquity of the legends which they illustrate. While a few depict scenes from private life, or state pageantry, which afford interesting details regarding the manners, customs, habits, social condition, and intercourse of foreigners with the people of Western India, two thousand years ago.

Messrs. Ralph and Grisley were the first to notice the existence of foreigners in these frescoes. In their animated and scenic correspondence, mention is repeatedly made of foreigners as distinct from the natives. In one place they say: "Here is a lovely face, a Madonna face. What eyes! She looks towards the moon. Observe, these are Hindu faces—nothing foreign."* Elsewhere, "Observe that Abyssinian black prince seated on a bed—remark his ornaments. Now the woman seated on his left knee whom he embraces is as fair as you or I. Did these fellows get Georgian slaves?" Again: "Here are evidently three beauties in this apartment—one an African, one copper-coloured, one of a *European* complexion. Yes; and how frequently we see these intermixed. See this, R. is a fair man, a eunuch." Again, "How often we see people of three complexions in the same panel! Now this is the most extraordinary thing we have found. Here are three placid portraits—they are *Chinese*. Nothing can be plainer;—observe the style of their hair;—the women have locks brought down in ringlets over their faces, and falling on to the neck, like some of the Hampton Court beauties." The writers did not, however, attempt to define the character of these foreigners, in any detail. It will not be uninteresting, therefore, to examine at length the peculiarities of a few of the figures shown in the photographs.

The first picture I have to notice is a court-scene on the south side of the cave No. I. In Messrs. Ralph and Grisley's paper it is thus described: "Here is a fair man of full age, dressed in a robe and cap, like some monk or abbot. Here is, next to him, a half-naked Brahman, copper-coloured, with shaven crown, and the single lock on his head. Here is a man presenting him with a scroll on which *something is written*. He is in a crowded court,—he has come to an audience." In the original this picture measures 15' x 6'-6". (Plate II.) It represents a large audience chamber with colonnaded side aisles, and a large portal in front. The room is carpeted with some stuff bearing sprigs on a black, or dark-coloured, ground. On the centre is a *charpai* or bedstead, which serves the purpose of a throne. It has four feet of the ordinary modern make, with a tape-woven top, such as is to be met with in every decently furnished house in northern India in the present day. Over it is a mattress of striped cloth, and on the off side a large pillow or *takia*, having behind

* *Ante*, Vol. V, p. 558.

it an ornamented head-piece shaped like a corona. A king or chief is seated, squatting on this throne in the usual oriental style, dressed in a flowing *dhuti* or body-cloth, a *chúdar* tied round the waist, and a tunic of some kind whose character is not apparent. He wears a rich heavy crown, bracelets and necklaces, one of the last being worn athwart the chest, very like a Bráhmānical cord. The face and parts of the arms and chest are destroyed or smudged over. In front of the throne there is a man seated, holding an ox-tail *chauri*, and having in front of him a curious ornament, shaped like a cornucopia. To the right there are four other persons seated on the ground, one of them having in front a tray placed on a tripod stand. The pose of the person is like that of a Bráhmaṇ engaged in worship. Behind and on the two sides of the throne, there are several persons,—officers of state, courtiers, body-guard, and menials,—standing in different attitudes, some dressed in *dhuti* only, others with tunics or made dresses, the character of which, owing to the smudgy condition of the picture, cannot be satisfactorily made out, except in one case in which a pair of close-fitting trousers and a *chapkan* are unmistakable. Some are armed with clubs, and one, near the entrance to the hall, upholds a standard. Their shaven chin, oriental head-dress, dark complexion, and characteristic features leave no doubt in my mind that they are all Indians. Among them there are four females, one standing behind the throne, and three seated on the carpet on the left side. In marked contrast to these are three persons standing in front of the king, and four others at a little distance. The foremost among them has a sugar-loaf-shaped hat with a black band, a large flowing gown of white stuff, a striped jacket, and a dagger held in a cloth girdle. The lower part of the gown or long coat is partially covered by the figure of the Bráhmaṇ engaged in worship, but from the portion which is visible, it is evident that it extended below the middle of the leg. Between the girdle and the lower edge of the jacket there is a waist-band buckled in front. Round his neck there is a necklace with a large locket. He is in the attitude of making a courtesy to the king, with his right hand passed under the jacket and placed on the left breast, and the left holding out a folded letter. The second person, dressed in the same style, but with a black jacket, is standing with folded hands in token of respect. His hat has no band. The third has a Persian helmet, with a crescent on top and a rosette on one side. He is bearing a tray full of presents of some kind. At a little distance from the last, just entering the hall, there is another person of the same nationality, bearing a tray, and outside the door there are two or three others who are evidently servants of the persons who have entered the hall, and belonging to the same nationality. The lower part of the gowns of these is not visible, but it must be the same as in the case

of the foremost figure. The coat of the man with a helmet is probably short.

The complexion of these persons, except the first, is markedly fair. Studying the group carefully the conclusion appears inevitable that it represents an embassy from a foreign country. The foremost person is the ambassador, who is presenting his credentials in open court to the Indian potentate. Behind him is his secretary, and then follow the bearers of the *nazar* or presents from the foreign court.

But whence is this embassy? and what is the nationality of the persons who compose it? We are aware of no Indian race or tribe which differed so materially and markedly in complexion, features, and dress from the natives of the country as represented in the court. From beyond India on the north and the east, there was no nation which, two thousand years ago, could have presented such a group. We must look to the North-West, therefore, for the birth-place of the ambassador and his suite. Now on that side we had the Afghans, the Bactrians, the Scythians, and the Persians. But the Afghans never had the peculiar sugar-loaf hat, nor the flowing gown, nor the crescented helmet. Their features too, were, as shall be presently shown, coarser and rude. The Bactrian and the Scythian dresses, to judge from numismatic evidence—the only evidence available in the case,—were also different. The coat was short, the trousers tight-fitting, and the head-gear very unlike a sugar-loaf hat. The Persian dress, however, as we now have it, is the exact counterpart of what appears in the picture. The hat, the gown and the jacket are identically the same.

The helmet appears repeatedly in the sculptures of Khorsábád and Nineveh, and the features and the beard are in no way different. We may, therefore, safely conclude that the picture represents a group of Persians, either merchants, or an embassy from Persia to an Indian court, probably the latter, as the letter in the hand of the foremost person would be redundant in a merchant. I am not aware of any mention of such an embassy in Buddhist religious history; but I have read but a small portion of Buddhist literature, and as it is abundantly evident that the frescoes of Ajantá were not confined to representations of religious history, it is not necessary to hunt up any relationship with it of Buddhist legends. Nor is it material to know whether the representation is historical or an ideal one. In either case it shows that the Indians of old had free intercourse with the Persians, and were thoroughly familiar with their features and dress. Literary evidence on this subject may be had in abundance in Sanskrit literature, but it is not necessary to adduce it here.

The second scene I have to describe is a domestic one, and three editions of it occur in the collection of photographs before me. There is no indication, however, to show whence they have been taken. The scales attached

show them to be of large size, about 30 x 28 ft. In its simplest version (Plate III) it represents a divan placed in front of a cloth screen, and covered with cushions and a check pattern coverlet; and on it are seated a big, stout, burly-looking man and a lady by his side. The man is seated cross-legged, and is in an amatory mood, perhaps somewhat befuddled with wine. His face is heavy and square, and he has both a beard and a moustache. He wears long hair covered by a thick conical cap with a turban, or a fur band around it like the Qilpáq cap of the Central Asiatic races of the present day. On his body is a coat or tunic reaching to the knee and trimmed with, what appears to me, patch-work decorations; knee-breeches and striped stockings complete his dress. He holds a cup in his left hand, and before him, on the ground, in front of the divan, there is a covered tray. The lady beside him has a gown reaching to the knee, a shell-jacket, (both set off with patch-work trimmings,) and a pair of striped stockings. She has a skull cap on her head, and earrings. Her right hand is lifted as in the act of telling something interesting to her lord. To the right of the man, in front of the divan, there stands a maid, arrayed in a long flowing gown which leaves only the tips of her shoes visible, and holding a flagon, shaped like a soda-water bottle with a long narrow neck, ready to replenish the cup of her lord. Behind the mistress there is a second maid with a wide-mouthed covered jar in her hand.

In the second version the man holds the cup in his right hand, and a stick or straight sword in his left. He has also an elaborately-worked belt, and the trimmings of the coats and gowns are of different patterns. The lady leans on the shoulder of her lord by her right hand, and by her attitude expresses great solicitude to please him. There is also a third maid, squatting in front, and ready to serve out edibles from the covered tray beside her.

The third version is even more developed. (Plate IV). The screen behind the divan is set off with floral designs. The coat of the hero and the gown of his lady, and also that of her maid, are set off with triangular striped streamers flying from the back. The features of the lady are vivid with life, and the expression of endearment on her face is truly admirable. The second maid holds a *suráhi* or goglet instead of a jar. The lady has, instead of a cap, a fillet round her head with an aigrette in front, and the maids similar fillets, but without the jewel. The third maid is replaced by two bearded, thick-lipped Negro-looking servants who are serving out dishes from the covered tray. The stockings in the last two versions are white. In two small panels the male figure is reproduced in company with another male,—two jovial companions, engaged in pledging their faith to each other over a cup of liquor. (See Plate V, fig. 1). The striped stockings are distinctly seen in these, as also a pair of check-pattern trousers, not striped.

There are more than five hundred representations of Indian men and women in the photographs, but they appear totally unlike the human figures shown in these plates, and, bearing in mind the fact that the artists of these frescoes were most faithful in delineating the peculiarities of their subjects, it is impossible to deny that they took their models for these from other than Indians. It is difficult, however, to determine what nationality they had in view. The features, the cap and the turban of the principal figure, are the exact counterparts of what may be every day seen in the Kabulese fruit-sellers in the streets of Calcutta ; but the coat is different. I have never seen an Afghan woman in her native dress, but the gown and the jacket of the female figures appear very like those of Jewesses. The patch-work trimmings are peculiar to them, and the best specimens of the kind of work I have seen are of Jewish make. The Afghans, however, are in no way inferior in this art : they bring to Calcutta every year a number of rugs and other articles of patch-work, which are remarkably beautiful. Knowing how such domestic arts as needle-work and patch-work are perpetuated for generations, and looking at the complexion, the cap and the turban, I was first disposed to believe that the figures on these plates represented Afghans, the thick-lipped servants being Negroes.

In the Zodiac Cave (No. XVI) Dr. Bhau Dáji found an inscription which once "contained the names of seven or eight kings of the Vákátaka dynasty, but only that of Vindhyaśakti, the oldest and most eminent, was preserved intact." "By a strange fatality," says the writer, "the inscription has been obliterated wherever a royal name existed, so that one is tempted to suppose that the destruction was intentional. But," he adds, "the destructive influence of the rainy weather is sufficient to account for the gaps."* The name of this Vindhyaśakti's country is mentioned in the Seoni copper-plate ; but the chief himself is not named there. Dr. Bhau Dáji identifies this Vindhyaśakti with a chief of the Kailikila Yavanas who, according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, once ruled in India. Having advanced thus far, he takes Kailikila to be identical with an ancient city and citadel named Ghúlghúleh near Bámián, mentioned by Mr. Masson in his paper on the Antiquities of Bamian (*ante*, v. 708), and Vákátaka with Bactria, thereby suggesting, though not positively asserting, that the Bactrian Greeks were the authors of the Ajantá caves. If this reasoning be admitted, the figures we have shown would be those of Bactrian Greeks. But there are various difficulties to overcome before we can accept the identification. The name Vindhyaśakti is too thorough a Sanskrit word to be the name of a Bactrian Greek, and there is nothing to connect him with the princes of the Seoni plate, except the word Vákátaka, which, as given in the Seoni plate, is

* Journal, Bombay As. Soc., VII, p. 65.

unmistakably the name of an Indian, and not of a trans-Indian locality, particularly Bactrian, for which the usual and very extensively-employed term is *Válhika*. In the *Puráṇas* these *Válhikas* are said to have reigned after *Vindhyaśakti*. Denying, however, the accuracy of the identification of *Vákátaka* with Bactria and of *Vindhyaśakti* having been a Bactrian, it might still be said that the figures under notice are Bactrians. In some *Kenerki* coins the cap is conical, and surrounded by a turban or a band of fur like the *Qilpák* cap; the cut of the coat is of the same style, and the close-fitting trousers and stockings are, as far as can be made out in coins, the same. The coarse square face of the Mongolian type is particularly remarkable, and, as the Bactrians exercised supremacy for some time in India from a little before the commencement of the Christian era, to nearly a century after it, it would be much more reasonable to suppose the representations to be of Bactrians, rather than those of Afghans, who attained to no political distinction at the time, and were to some extent included among the Hindus.

The stockings of the peculiar pattern which has hitherto been thought to be the outcome of modern European art, are remarkable: I have noticed them nowhere else in Indian paintings or sculpture. The Hindus seem to have borrowed the stockings from their neighbours; for in a panel in Cave No. I, there is a representation of an Indian bacchanalian scene, unmistakable from the features and dress, in which they have been reproduced on the legs of a man and his lady-love. Before the importation of stockings from Europe, the Indians got their supplies from *Káshmr̥*. I do not, however, know when knitted stockings were first introduced into that country. To England they first came in the reign of Henry VIII, and it is extremely doubtful if they were of much more ancient date in *Káshmr̥*. And after all what I take to be stockings might be sewed hose of cloth or milled stuff of some kind.

The indulgence in spirituous drinks was common all over India, Bactria and Persia in ancient times, and the evidence of it in the frescoes does not call for any notice.* That the cup and the flagon indicate something more potent than sherbet, I believe, none will question.

The curtains behind the divan suggest the idea that the sites of the Bactrian domestic scenes were tents, and that the people shown had not become settled inhabitants of the country. But the evidence in this respect is too meagre to attach any importance to such an idea.

Looking to the made-dresses of the Persians and the Bactrians, it might be supposed that the Indians got theirs from those sources; but, as I have shown in my "*Antiquities of Orissa*," such was not the case, at least when the *Ajantá* frescoes were painted. In the Indian bacchanalian scene above noticed, the dresses of the Indian man and woman are quite different, and

* *Vide passim* my paper on 'Spirituous Drinks in Ancient India,' *ante*, XLII, pp. 1 ff.

by no means such as to justify the assumption that they had been designed from foreign models. In the very affecting picture of the death of a lady of rank in Cave No. XVI, the bodices shown on some of the maid-servants engaged in grinding corn in hand-mills, are quite unlike the jackets of the Bactrian women.

In an Indian scene in Cave No. I, where a large number of sable beauties are exhibited, there is a figure seated cross-legged, whose dark features, punchy belly and style of sitting, leave no doubt in my mind of his nationality; and he is dressed in a *dhuti* which leaves a part of his thigh exposed, and a *mírzáí* of flowered muslin which is thoroughly Indian, and the like of it has nowhere been seen out of India. (See plate V, fig. 2.) The *mírzáí* is in use by the Hindus to this day all over northern India, and its make seems not to have changed in the least since the time of the fresco.

It is not my intention to enter into a discussion here as to the date of the Ajantá Caves. The late Dr. Wilson of Bombay took them to extend from the third or second century before, to the fifth or sixth century after, Christ.* Mr. Burgess, after a careful study of the Caves, states "that the oldest of them cannot be later than the second century before the Christian era." Long before him Mr. Fergusson came to the same conclusion in his 'Rock-cut Caves of India,' and in his 'History of Eastern Architecture' remarked that Cave No. XII, "the façade of which so much resembles that of the Násik Chaitya (B. C. 129), cannot be far off in date" (p. 122). The latest are supposed to be of the 5th or 6th century. Accepting this opinion for my guide, and there is not much to show that it is untenable, and bearing in mind that Cave No. I is one of the largest and richest in paintings which long preceded sculpture, I may fairly come to the conclusion that the scenes I have described above represent phases of Indian life from eighteen hundred to two thousand years ago.

* Journal, Bombay As. Soc., III, p. 72.

*A Copper-plate Grant from Bandá.—By RÁJENDRALÁLA
MITRA, LL.D., C.I.E.*

(With a plate.)

The Society is indebted to Mr. A. Cadell, Asst. Magistrate, Bandá, in the N. W. Provinces, for the sight of a Copper-plate found in Parganah Augási of the Bandá district. The plate measures $16\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $10\frac{1}{2}$, and is in an excellent state of preservation. (See plate VI.) It is a hammered one; very rough on the outer face, but moderately smooth on the inscribed side. Round its edges slips of metal have been very roughly and clumsily rivetted on to form a raised rim for the purpose of preventing the inscription from being easily rubbed off. At the middle of the lower edge, close by the rim, is a round hole, half an inch in diameter. It was intended for a ring which bore the seal of the donor, and perhaps also held together two plates, one of which is missing. If a second plate did once exist, it was intended only as a cover for the first and bore no inscription, for the latter contains the whole of a deed of conveyance, with a colophon giving the name of the writer and engraver of the record, and hitherto no document of the kind has been found which contains any thing after the name of the engraver. The record is inscribed longitudinally, and comprises nineteen lines, the first four of which have a break in the middle, caused by an outline figure of the goddess Rájalakshmi with two elephants standing on expanded lotuses, and pouring water on her head. The writing is of the Kuṭila type, but slender in body, and verging to the modern Nágari character. It records the grant of 'ten ploughs' of land in the village of Ramuraḍá, which is situated in the circle of Sudáli, to a Bráhmaṇa named Gabhanta S'arman, the son of Játa, the grandson of Sátti, and great-grandson of Vapana, a member of the Vájasaneyi school of the Bháradvája gotra, having the threefold Pravara of Bharadvája, Angirasa, Várhaspatya, and an inhabitant of the village of Dhakari. The boundary of the plot is given in detail, and the date of the gift was Monday, the 5th of the waxing moon in the month of Mágha, Samvat 1190 = A. C. 1135.

The donor was Madanavarma Deva, a devout follower of S'iva. His immediate predecessor was Prithivívarma Deva, who had succeeded Kirtivarma Deva.

The first monument of this line of princes was brought to the notice of the Society by Lieutenant William Price, in 1813. It was a large inscribed stone found on a rocky hill in the vicinity of the town of Mau, about ten miles from Chhattarpur. The record was in a bad state of preservation, and the transcript and translation of it published in the 'Asiatic Researches'

* Vol. XII, pp. 359 *et seq.*

are full of lacunæ. It comprises the history of nine princes with the names of their ministers.

The second record was found by Capt. T. S. Burt in 1838. It too was an inscribed slab, which had been detached from one of several temples at Khajráha, nine *kos* from Chhattarpur, which is on the high road from Saiyar and Hamírpur, close by the fortified town of Rájgarh, on the right bank of the Kám river, S. W. from Chhattarpur. It gives the names of six predecessors of Dhánga.*

The third was communicated to me by Major-General Cunningham, who found it at Khajráha.† It was a short record of 13 lines, but it was of value in settling the date of the dynasty on a sure footing. In commenting upon it I pointed out the relation it bore to the two preceding monuments, and the results deducible from a reading of the three inscriptions together. The conclusion I then arrived at regarding the date of Madanavarma, the last prince of the line, was, that he must have lived about the middle of the twelfth century. The exact date given by the copper-plate now under notice is Samvat 1190 = A. D. 1135. The name of the immediate predecessor of Prithivivarma, the father of Madana, in Lieutenant Price's inscription, is Sallakshanavarma; but this appears to be an *alias* or title, the real name being Kirtivarma in the copper-plate. Putting the names found in the four inscriptions together with such corrections as the several records have helped me to make, I arrive at the following genealogy. Altogether we have sixteen names. Of these, documentary evidence exists for the dates of three; the 7th king, Dhánga, being assigned by two records to Samvat 1011 and 1019 respectively; the 13th by one to Samvat 1173; and the 16th by another to 1190. For the rest we have to depend upon averages. For reasons assigned in my paper on the Khajráha inscriptions, the earlier reigns may be taken to have been long, but some of the later must have been very short. Dhánga is said to have lived 109 summers, and then to have resigned his life at the confluence of the Yamuná and the Ganges, and this led Mr. Sutherland and those who wrote after him to suppose that the prince had committed suicide. Such is, however, not the inevitable meaning of the passage. To this day the ordinary civil way of announcing a death is to say, so-and-so has surrendered his life to the holy river so-and-so or the sacred pool (*Kshetra*) so-and-so, and the inscription has probably adopted the same mode of expression.

I.	Nannuka, of the Chandrártreya race A. D.,	746	771
II.	Vágyati or Vákpati, son of I,	771	798
III.	Víyaya, son of II,	898	823
IV.	Váhila or Ráhila, son of III,	823	848

* Journal, As. Soc., VIII, p. 159.

† Ibid., XXXII, pp. 273f.

V.	S'riharsha, son of IV,.....	848	873
VI.	Yasodharma, son of V, by Kankutá,	873	900
VII.	Dhánga, { son of VI, by Narmadevi, Minister } { —Prabhása,	900	962
VIII.	Gaṇḍa Deva, Minister—Prabhása,	952	988
IX.	Vidyádharma Deva, Minister—S'ivanáma, son of last,	983	1103
X.	Viyayyapála, Minister—Mahipála, son of last, ...	1103	1023
XI.	Kirtivarma Deva, Minister—Ananta,	1024	1045
XII.	Varma Deva, Minister—Yogeśvara, son of last,...	1045	1065
XIII.	Jayavarma Deva, Minister—ditto,.....	1110	1120
XIV.	Kirtivarma Deva <i>alias</i> Sallakshana, Minister— Vatsa and other sons of Ananta,.....	1120	1130
XV.	Prithvivarma Deva, ditto,.....	1120	1130
XVI.	Madanavarma Deva, Minister—Gadádharma,.....	1130	1150

The annexed translation of the record has been prepared for me by my young friend Bábu Durgaráma Basu, Pleader, High Court of Calcutta.

Translation of an inscription from Parganah Augási, Bandá.

May this be auspicious!

The dynasty of the kings of the lunar race, glorious as the moon on the forehead of the god of the universe, (Viśveśvara) gladdening the universe, prospers. In that noble and flourishing dynasty, rendered resplendent by heroes like Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, the king of Kálanjara, the fortunate Madanavarma Deva, the highly revered, the great king over great kings, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Śiva, successor of the highly revered, the great king over great kings, the supreme lord, the fortunate Prithvivarma Deva, *who was* the successor of the highly revered, the great king over great kings, the supreme lord, the fortunate Kirtivarma Deva, reigns supreme. He, having subdued his enemies by his irresistible majesty, untroubled holds the earth like a married wife, and thereby keeps his intellect unclouded, and his conscience unsullied. He commands all his relatives, Káyasthas, and other great men inhabiting the village of Rámuradá within the district of Sudáli:—"Be it known unto you that, on Monday, on the day of the full moon, in the month of Mágha, of the Samvat year eleven hundred and ninety (in figures 15th Sudi, Magh, Samvat 1190) I have, after having duly bathed in holy water, after offering oblations to the gods, having worshipped the sun and the lord of Bhaváni (Śiva) and after offering oblations to the fire, for the promotion of virtue of my parents and of myself, with water held in my hand and consecrated with kuśa grass, and having pronounced the word Svasti (let this be auspicious), bestowed, for the period of the duration of the sun and the moon, on the Bráhmaṇa Gabhanta Śarmá, son of Jāta, grandson of Satti, great-grandson of Bápan, of the Vájasaneyá branch (*Sákhá*) of the Bharadvája gotra having Bharadvája, An-

girasa and Vārhaspatya for his threefold *Prabara*, an inhabitant of the village of Dhakari, making the gift descendable to his sons, grandsons and successive descendants, ten ploughs of land (in figures 10 ploughs) in the above named village, the said land requiring seven and a half *droṇas* of seed for cultivation, and bounded on the east by the boundary post of the village of Ranamusra, on the south by the post of the village of Ramasaida, on the west by the tope of Madhuka trees, and on the north by the post of the village of Bijauli: the sacred lands thus bounded with fields of *jālyā** and lands and water comprised therein, and with right to make all present, past, and future collections from debtors. Knowing this, you should render unto him, in compliance with my orders, shares, usufructs and all other dues. No one must make any opposition to his enjoying these lands with all duties and all *Āsavas*, sugarcane, cotton, saffron, flax, mango, Madhuka (*mowā*) and other trees, as well as salt mines, and with all other things within the boundary, whether above or below the soil, and whether he enjoys the lands by himself cultivating them, or getting them cultivated by others, and whether he makes a gift of, or mortgages, or sells, them. This grant is irrevocable and interminable, and it should be so preserved by future sovereigns. Thus has it been said: 'This earth has been enjoyed by many kings including Sagara and others. To whomsoever belongs the earth for the time being, to him is due the fruit (of such gifts).' Written by Sūdhā, the clerk of the edict department, and inscribed by the well-connected Jalpana."

Transcript of an inscription from Parganah Augāsi, Bandā.

- १ । खल्लि । जयत्वाक्कादयन्विश्वं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चन्द्रान्वयनरेन्द्राणां वंश-
श्चन्द्र इवोज्ज्वलः ॥ तत्र प्रव-
- २ । र्दमाने विशोभिः विजयम्नाजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावभास्वरे
परमभट्टारकमहारा-
- ३ । जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकीर्त्तिवर्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-
राजपरमेश्वरश्रीप-
- ४ । श्रीवर्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्व-
रकालङ्गराधिप-
- ५ । तिःश्रीयुत्तमदन ‡ वर्मदेवो विजयी ॥ स एष दुर्विघ्नहतरप्रतापतापितसकल-
रिपुकुलः कुलवधूमिव वसुन्धरां निराकुलां प-

* Probably Joari, *Serghaim joar*.

† विशोभि in the original.

‡ श्रीयुत्तमदन in the original. The प is obviously an incorrect writing for य and the य त should be vocalised.

- ६। रिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्मलीकृतमतिः ॥ सूडलिविषयान्तःपातिरमूरडा-
ग्रामोपगतान् कुटम्बिकायस्थमहत्तरा-
- ७। दीन् सर्वान् समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वः संविदितं यथोपरि लिखितेऽस्मिन् ग्रामे
हलदशाङ्गेपि हल १० मत्कभूमिर्यत्र, वाउमेकोर-
- ८। दे(?) द्रोणसार्द्धसप्त यत्राघाटाः पूर्वस्यां दिशि रणमुखारामदण्डकु। दक्षि-
णस्यां दिशि कमाशैदायादण्डकु। पश्चिमायां दिशि मधुक-
- ९। वृक्षवल्लीका। उत्तरे विजौलीग्रामदण्डकु एवं चतुराघाटविशुद्धा भूमिः
जडिआच्छेद्रेण सह सजलस्थला सस्थावरजङ्ग-
- १०। मा साधमर्णभूतभविष्यद्वर्तमाननिःशेषादायसहिता चास्माभिर्भैलस्वामिस-
मीपावासे नवत्यधिकशतैकोपेतस-
- ११। हस्तमे संवत्सरे माघे मासि शुक्लपक्षे पूर्णिमायां सोमवारे अङ्गतोपि संवत्
११६० माघसुदि १५ सोमे ॥ पुण्योदकेन विधिव-
- १२। त् स्नात्वा देवादीन् सन्तर्प्य भास्करं भवानीपतिं चाभ्यर्च्य ऊतभुजि ऊत्वा
मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुण्याय ऽकारोग्रामविनिर्गताय वाज-
- १३। सनेयशाखिने भरद्वाजगोत्राय। भरद्वाज। आङ्गिरस। वार्हस्पत्य। ह-
प्रवराय। वापनप्रपौत्राय। सान्निपौत्राय। जाटपुत्राय।
- १४। गभन्तशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय कुशलतापूतेन हस्तोदकेन स्वस्तिवाचनपूर्वं चन्द्रार्क-
समकालं पुत्रपौत्राद्यन्वयानुगामित्वेन सम-
- १५। लं कृत्वा दत्तेति मत्वा भवद्विराज्ञाश्रवनविवेशैर्भूत्वा भागभोगादिकं सर्व-
मस्मै समुपनेतव्यं तदेवामुस्य भूमिं सनिर्गमप्रच-
- १६। यां ससर्वासनेक्षुकार्पासकुसुम्भशणाम्रमधूकादिभूरूहां लवन(ण)खनिनिधा-
नामपरैरपि सीमान्तर्गतैर्वस्तुभिः सहितां
- १७। सवाह्याभ्यन्तरालायां भुञ्जानस्य कर्षतः कर्षयतो दानाधमनविक्रयं वा कुर्वतो
न केनचित् काचिद्वाधा कर्त्तव्या उत चास्मदा-
- १८। नमनाच्छेदमनाहार्यञ्चेति भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयमिति ॥ उक्तञ्च ॥
बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः।
- १९। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ लिखितञ्च धर्मलेखिना ओसू-
टेन उत्कीर्णञ्च विज्ञातिकाजल्पनेनेति ॥

*Recent Trans-Frontier Explorations, communicated by COL. J. T. WALKER,
C. B., R. E., Surveyor-General of India.*

(With a Map.)

During the year 1876, the Mullá, one of the explorers attached to the Great Trigonometrical Survey, made a survey up the course of the Indus from the point where it enters the plains above Aṭak, to the point where it is joined by the river of Gilghit. All other portions of the course of the Indus—from the table-lands of Tibet, where it takes its rise, down to its junction with the ocean—have long since been surveyed; but up to the present time this portion has remained unexplored, and has been shown on our maps by a dotted line, the usual symbol for geographical vagueness and uncertainty. Here the great river traverses a distance of some 220 miles, descending from a height of about 5,000 feet to that of 1,200 feet above the level of the sea. Its way winds tortuously through great mountain ranges, whose peaks are rarely less than 15,000 feet in height and culminate in the Nanga-Parbat, the well-known mountain whose height, 26,620 feet, is only exceeded by a very few of the great peaks of the Himálayas. The river in many places is hemmed in so closely by these great ranges, that its valley is but a deep-cut, narrow gorge, and, as a rule, there is more of open space and culturable land in the lateral valleys, nestling between the spurs of the surrounding ranges, than in the principal valley itself.

The positions and heights of all the most commanding peaks in this region had been long fixed by Captain Carter's observations at trigonometrical stations on the British Frontier line; but no European has ever yet penetrated into it.* Very difficult of access from all quarters, it is inhabited by a number of hill tribes, each independent and suspicious of the other, who are in a great measure separated and protected from each other by natural barriers and fastnesses. As a whole, the region has never been brought into subjection by any of the surrounding powers. Each community elects its own ruler, and has little intercourse with its neighbours; and with the outer world it only communicates through the medium of a few individuals who have the privilege of travelling over the country as traders. The Mullá possesses this privilege, and thus in the double capacity of trader and explorer, he traversed along the Indus, and through some of the lateral valleys, leaving the others for exploration hereafter.

* Several itineraries which were obtained from native information are published in Dr. Leitner's Dardistán, and they have been combined together, with considerable ingenuity and very tolerable success, by Mr. Ravenstein, in a map published in the Geographical Magazine for August, 1875.

This work done, he proceeded, in accordance with his instructions, to Yásín, marching through the Gilghit Valley, but not surveying it, because the labours of the lamented Hayward, who was murdered at Yásín, already furnished us with a good map of that region. From Yásín he surveyed the southern route to Mastuj through the Ghizar and Sar Laspur Valleys; this has furnished an important rectification of a route which had hitherto been laid down from conjecture only, and very erroneously; for the road, instead of proceeding in a tolerably straight direction from Yásín to Mastuj, as was supposed, turns suddenly from south-west to north-north-east at Sar Laspur, which is situated at some distance to the south of the direct line, in a valley lying parallel to the valley of Chitral. At Mastuj the Mullá struck on to his survey of the route from Jalálábád, *viâ* Dir and Chitrál, to Sarhadd-i-Wakhán, in 1873, and then proceeded along that route towards the Baroghil Pass, as far as the junction of the Gazan with the Yarkun River, and then along the northern road from Mastuj to Yásín. This road turns up the Gazan Valley, crosses the Tui ar Moshabar Pass—which is conjectured to be probably not less than 16,000 feet in height—and, after traversing a deep crevassed glacier for a distance of about eight miles, reaches the point where the Tui River issues in great volume from the glacier; the road then follows the course of the river down to its junction with the Warchagam River, a few miles above Yásín.

Returning to Sar Laspur, the Mullá next surveyed the route to the south-west, up the valley leading to the Tal Pass. This pass is situated on a plateau of the range which connects the mountains on the western boundary of the valley of the Indus with those on the eastern boundary of the valley of Chitrál, and is generally known by the people of the country as the Kohistán. The sources and most of the principal affluents of the Swát and the Panjkorá rivers take their rise in this region, all the most commanding peaks of which were fixed by Captain Carter's triangulation; but of the general lie of the valleys relatively to the peaks, nothing at all definite has been known hitherto. The Mullá has done much to elucidate the geography of this region. On crossing the Tal plateau he descended into the Panjkorá Valley, and traversed its entire length down to Dodbah, at the junction of the Dir river with the Panjkorá, where he again struck on his route survey of 1873.

It would have been well if he could then have gone down the Panjkorá to its junction with the Swát River, but circumstances prevented him from doing so. He therefore travelled along the Havildar's route of 1868 as far as Miánkálai, and then surveyed the road to Nawágai and on to Pashat in the valley of Kunar; and finally, returning to Nawágai, he surveyed the road from there down to the British fort of Abazai.

Thus the explorations of the Mullá have added much to our knowledge of the geography of the interesting regions lying beyond our northern Trans-Indus Frontier. A good deal, however, still remains to be done before our knowledge of these regions is as full and complete as it should be, and every effort will be made to carry out further explorations as soon as possible.

The accompanying sketch map has been constructed to illustrate the Mullá's operations; it also shows the localities where more information is wanted. In the north-east corner the results of a recent reconnaissance of portions of the Karambar and the Nagar Valleys by Captain Biddulph are given, but somewhat modified from his map of the country.

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*Notes on two ancient copper-plate Inscriptions found in the Hamírpúr District, N. W. P.—By V. A. SMITH, B.A., B.C.S. With a Note by PRÁNNÁTH PAṆḌIT, M.A., B.L.*

In 1872, a peasant when ploughing in the lands of Mauza Nanyaurá, Parganah Panwári, Zila Hamírpúr, turned up two inscribed copper-plates. The plates were brought to Mr. W. Martin, C. S., who is now on furlough, and were left by him in the hands of a local paṇḍit (Muralidhar) who was in his service. With the assistance of this man, I have had Nágari transcripts prepared, and have made translations of the inscriptions.

*Plate No. I* is 15 inches long by 11 inches broad, and is covered with an inscription of 19 lines, very well engraved and in good order. This record is interesting as throwing light on the chronology and order of succession of the Chandel kings. It tells us that Vidyádharma Deva was succeeded by Vijaya Pála Deva, and that the latter was succeeded by Deva Varmma Deva, lord of Kálinjar, who in 1107, Samvat, bestowed the lands to which the record relates. The statement that Vijaya Pála Deva succeeded Vidyádharma Deva is in accordance with the testimony of the Chhattarpur Mhau inscription, but that document gives Kirttí Varmma as the name of Vijaya Pála's son and successor, whereas my copper-plate instead of Kirttí Varmma names Deva Varmma Deva. Both inscriptions apparently refer to the same prince.

General Cunningham conjecturally assigns 1122 Samvat (1065 A. D.) as the date of the conclusion of Vijaya Pála's reign and the accession of Kirttí Varmma. Whatever was the name of Vijaya Pála's successor, it is clear from this copper-plate inscription that he had begun his reign previous to 1107, Samvat (1050 A. D.).

*Plate No. II* is 14 inches long by 8 inches broad, and has the edges turned up all round, so as to form a raised rim. The inscription is in 14 lines, and the letters have evidently been made with a punch, because their outlines are visible on the back of the plate. The writing is more crowded, and the characters more difficult to read than those in *Plate No. I*, but with the exception of one or two epithets which are unimportant to the general sense, I think my readings and translation are pretty complete and correct. I have not been able to make a facsimile. Like *No. I*, the document is a deed of gift of lands to a Bráhmaṇ. The donor is Rája Dhanga, and in accordance with the Khajuráho inscription, it is recorded that he was the son of Yaśo Varmma, who was the son of Harsha Deva. The date 1055 Samvat (998 A. D.) is written both in words and figures. The Khajuraho inscription which records Dhanga's self-sacrifice in the sacred waters of Prayág is dated 1056 Samvat; this copper-plate shows that he was still living in 1055 Samvat.

This record, therefore, adds but little to our knowledge of Chandel chronology, but it is of value as corroborating the evidence of the Khajuráho inscription, respecting the order of succession of the kings.

It is noticeable that the recipient of the grant recorded in this copper-plate is Rudra Srí Yaśodhara, a member of the Bháradwája *got*, which traced its descent from Angiras, Bháradwája and Várhaspatya: probably he was the same person as the Prime Minister Yaśodhara, mentioned in the Khajuráho record. The donee whose name is recorded in *Plate No. I*, belonged to the same family, and this is perhaps the reason why both inscriptions were found together.

I have not had an opportunity of visiting Mauza' Nanyaurá, but I am informed that an ancient Gaharwár tank exists there, and that there are also the remains of an old village site.

The present village is said to have been founded by one Noní Sáh Kurmí, and to be named after him.

*Note.*—Dhanga's name has been sometimes incorrectly written Banga, the mistake is evidently due to the similarity of the characters for *ò* व and for *dh* व in Kutilla writing.

#### NO. 1. NANYAURÁ COPPER-PLATE.

##### *Nágarí Transcript.*

ॐ खलि । परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविद्याधरदेवपादानुधातपरम-  
भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविजयपालदेवपादानुधातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-  
राजपरमेश्वरपरमसाहेश्वरश्रीकालंजराधिपतिश्रीमदेववर्मादेवः कुशली (1) । प्रतापानल-  
कवलितखिलदिकचक्रवालः । सङ्गमाङ्गणनिहतारातिवनितावैधयदानदीक्षागुरुः । य



सत्येन युधिष्ठिरं विजयते त्यागेन चम्पाधिपं गाम्भीर्येण सहेदधिं प्रभुतया देवं शचीवल्लभम् ।  
 रूपेणापि मनोभवं पटुतया शुक्रं सवाचस्यति तस्यान्यैर्विशदेन्दुधामधवलैः किं कीर्तितैः  
 स्याद्गुणैः (2) ॥ वुडिमान् धार्मिकः शूरः सत्यवादी जितेन्द्रियः । कृतज्ञः सज्जनानन्दज(न)नः  
 शुभदर्शनः ॥ इत्यमनेकगुणसमलंकृतशरीरः । निःसारसुन्दरतरालोककदलीगर्भविधमा-  
 कारसंसारमाकलय्य (3) सम्बत् ११०७ वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे तृतीयायां सोमदिने सुहवास-  
 समावाये राजपुरावस्थायां रणमौलसम्बद्ध कठघैग्रामनिवासि महत्तमजनपदान् ब्राह्मणो-  
 त्तारान् राजपुरुषांश्च बोधयति (4) । आत्मीयमातुः राज्ञीश्रीभुवनदेव्याः साम्प्रतरीके ।  
 जले विधिवत्क्षाला देवमनुष्यपूर्वान् पितृन् सदर्भतिलोदकेन सन्नर्थं रवेरर्धं दत्वा भगवन्तं  
 भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य यथावत् कृतभुजि कृत्वा च (5) । मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यशोभि-  
 त्वये (6) । टकारी भट्टग्रामविनिर्गताय (7) भारद्वाजगोत्राय अंगिरस वाहस्य भार-  
 द्वाज चित्रवराय यजुर्वेदशास्त्रिणे ब्राह्मणे अभिमन्यवे भट्टएल्लापनाय जयवरनपत्रे वेदवे-  
 दांगपारगाय षट्कर्माभिरताय सुशीलाय ग्रामोयसस्त्राभिः सजलस्थलः (8) साधमधूकः (9)  
 सगर्तापरपाषाणः (10) सशैलवाहलः (11) सलोहलवणाकरः (12) सवननिधानः (13)  
 चतुराघाटविशुद्धः (14) खसीमाहणपूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः (15) पूर्वदत्तदेवब्राह्मणवर्जितः (16)  
 सासनत्वेन प्रदत्तः । तद्भवद्विराज्ञाश्रयवणविधेर्भूला (17) समस्तभागभोगकरहिरण्य दण्डा-  
 दायादिकमुचितानुचितं (18) तस्योपनेतयं । सचन्द्रार्कचित्युदधि यावत् खपुत्रपौत्रसन्तत्या  
 भुनक्तु भोगेन वा प्रयच्छतु अन्यस्य वा ददातु विज्रीणातु कषतु कषापयतु वा न कौरपि-  
 भाविभोक्तृभिः परिपन्थिभिर्भवितव्यं (19) । वज्रभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।  
 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ (20) भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्य भूमिं  
 प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ निश्चितं स्वर्गगमिनौ ॥ (21) शंखं भद्रासनं ह्वयं वराश्चाः  
 वरवाचनाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलं स्वर्गः पुरन्दर ॥ (22) खदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो  
 हरेत वसुधरा । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूला पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ (23) स्वर्णमेकं गामेकां  
 भूमेरयेकमंगुलम् । हरन्नरकमायाति यावदाभूतसंज्ञवम् ॥ (24) संगलं महाश्रीः  
 श्रीमद्देववर्मदेवः ।

### Translation.

Om Svasti. The supreme master, *Mahārāja Adhirāja*, the supreme lord *Srī Vidyādharma Deva*, whose feet were adored by the supreme master *Mahārāja Adhirāja*, supreme lord, *Srī Vijaya Pāla Deva*, whose feet were adored by the supreme master, *Mahārāja Adhirāja*, supreme lord, the devout follower of *Mahesvara*, the lord of *Kālinjara*, *Srī Deva Varma Deva* — may he prosper! The fire of his (*Deva Varma's*) prowess devours the extremities of space; and he is the preceptor in the rite of giving widowhood to the wives of foemen slain in the arena of battle. Who by truthfulness conquers *Fudhisthira*; by munificence, the lord of *Champā* i. e., *Karna*; by depth, the great ocean; by sovereignty, the god beloved



of *Sachí, i. e., Indra*; by beauty too, over *Manobhava*; by eloquence, over *Sukra* with *Váchaspati*; what is the use of recounting his other qualities, white as the clear splendour of the moon? Wise, religious, valiant, truthful, subduer of his passions, grateful, the producer of the gladness of good men and of auspicious appearance. Thus his body (is) adorned with many qualities. Reckoning this world to be insubstantial (worthless), yet beautiful to look upon as the pith of a plantain tree; on Monday the third date of the black fort-night of the month of *Baisákha*, Samvat 1107 — — — — — (25) in *Rájapurávastá*, informs the principal inhabitants, of whom Bráhmans are the foremost, of the village *Kathadáu* attached to *Ranamaulla*, and all Royal officers. On the anniversary of the death of my mother, *Sri Bhuvana Deví*, Queen, having bathed in water according to sacred precept, having satiated the *Manes* of ancestors with *kusa*, *sesamum* and water, after satisfying gods and men, having presented an *Arghya* to the Sun, having duly worshipped the god, the lord of *Bhaváni, i. e., Shiva*, and having presented oblations in the fire, according to usage; For the increase of the virtue and fame of my parents and myself, to the Bráhmaṇa *Abhimanyu*, son of *Bhatta Ellá*, grandson of *Jayavara*, originally an inhabitant of *Takari Bhatta Gráma*; a member of the *Bháradvāja gotra* and the triple *pravara* of *Angirasa*, *Brihaspati* and *Bháradvāja*, skilled in the *Vedas* and *Vedāngas*, engaged in the six acts proper for a Bráhmaṇ, and of excellent disposition—to him this village has been granted by us with its land and water, its mango and *mahua* trees, with its hollows, waste and stones, its rocks and tillage (?)—with its mines of metal and salt, with its forest and concealed treasure, with its clear defined boundary, with all grass, watering-places (?) and pastures for kine within its limits, excluding aught previously given to the gods or Bráhmans, as a *Sāsana*. Therefore, by you all complying with the orders (herein conveyed) all the rents in kind, taxes, gold payments, fines, hereditary rights and the rest should be made over to this person. Till the moon, sun and earth endure, he with his son, grandson and descendants should enjoy (the grant) or assign it, or give away to another, till it or cause it to be tilled, none who enjoy the kingdom after me, should prove an obstacle in the way. By many kings, *Sagara* and others, the earth has been enjoyed. Whosoever has been the land, his has been the fruit. He who accepts lands and he who grants lands, both these doers of virtuous deeds certainly go to Heaven. A Conch, a throne, an umbrella, fine horses and fine elephants, these mark the grant of lands; and the result is Heaven, O *Indra*! He who resumes land, whether given by himself or given by others, becomes a worm in filth and falls with his ancestors. By stealing a single *suverna*, a single cow, or even a finger-breadth of land, (the thief) remains in hell till the end of the Universe. Great prosperity. *Sri. Srimad Deva varmma Deva.*

## No. 2. NANYAURÁ COPPER-PLATE.

## Nāgarī Transliteration.

ओं खलि । आसीत्कल्पतरुः [कलौ] प्रणयिनामानन्दकन्दः सतां मित्राणां नयना-  
 मृतम्परबलस्यात्यन्तकेतुः परः । सेतुः सद्भारवारिधेर्ममयतस्त्रैलोक्यचूडामणिः श्रीब्रह्मद्रुम-  
 र्महीयसि कुले श्रीहर्षदेवोत्पन्नः ॥ प्रचण्डसण्डलाग्रस्य करकान्तमहीभूतः । निदाघमा-  
 स्करस्त्रेव प्रतापो यस्य दुःसुहः ॥ अरितिमिरनिकरवलभिदरिकरिकरयन्त्रभेदनकुठारः  
 तच्छीलतालघातसस्त्राज्जातोयशोवर्मा ॥ यस्मिन्दुकुन्दशृङ्गेण यशसा धवलीकृताः । कुलाचल-  
 गुह्यः सेया जाताः किन्नरयोषिताम् ॥ तस्य श्रीधङ्गदेवोभूयन्तः पात्रं जयत्रियः । असंख्य-  
 संख्यविख्यातः खड्गधारापराक्रमः ॥ चित्रं सुदर्नारिणीं हृदये विरचानलः । अजस्र-  
 मश्रुपानीयसिच्यमानोऽपि वर्द्धते ॥ भङ्गान्तःपुरिकालकेषु सुरतक्रीडासु कण्ठग्रहः काठिन्यं  
 कुचयो ध्रुवोः कुटिलता चन्द्रे कलङ्कस्थितिः । स्तुतिर्लोककविवाचि केरववने मित्रोदय  
 द्वेषिता यस्मिन्नेकमहीपतौ कदलिकाकाण्डेषु निस्सारता ॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-  
 राजपरमेश्वरश्रीश्रीहर्षदेवपादानुश्वात परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीयशोवर्मा-  
 देवपादानुश्वातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकालंजराधिपतिश्रीधंगदेवः । स-  
 म्बत्सप्तसहस्रे पञ्चपञ्चाशदधिके कार्तिकपौर्णिमास्यां रविदिने एवं सम्बत् १०५५ कार्तिक-  
 सुदि १५ रवौ अर्द्धेचात्र(?)काशिकायां सैन्धवेयग्रहप्राप्तप्रवेशीकृतमण्डले । रोहिणीहृद-  
 यानन्दकन्दे हरिणलाञ्छने । भारद्वाजसंगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय भारद्वाज आंगिरस वार्हस्पत्य  
 वाजसनेयशशिने तर्काधिकविनिर्गतादूर्वाहरायासाभिजनाय रुद्रश्रीयशोधराय रुद्र-  
 जयकुमारसुताय कषरवाहप्रतिवदं सजलस्थलं सनिम्नोन्नत साध्रमधूकं ससारोपरप्रख्यात  
 चतुःसीमापर्यन्तं । चुक्षिनामधेयग्रामम् । हृदये पुण्यशसेर्मातापित्रोरथात्मनः । यामपयास्य  
 चरितः स ददौ धर्मवत्सलः । दत्तादिदेश तत्रत्यान् जनान्जनपदप्रियः । भागभोगहिर-  
 ण्यादिप्रदानैः सुखमास्यताम् । ओं तथा स्मृतिकारैः । बह्वभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः  
 सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्य  
 भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ गामेकां सुवर्णमेकं  
 भूमेर्येकमङ्गुलम् । हरन्नरकमायाति यावदाभूतसंज्ञवम् ॥ इदं श्रीधङ्गदेवस्य शासनं  
 शासनाङ्गीत । प्रतापतापितारातिचक्रस्य क्रमवर्चिनः ॥ श्रीधंग ।

## Translation of the Inscription of the Nanyaurá Copper-plate, No. 2.

Om. It is well. Sri Harsha Deva, the king, of the great family of Sri Braharendra Muni, was [as] the *kalpa vriksha* the root of joy to well-wishers, the water of immortality for the eyes of good friends, a very *ketu* in the destruction of hostile armies, a bridge in the surging sea of good men's burdens, the Jewel on the diadem of the three worlds, the sovereign whose hand dearly loved the sword, whose glory like that of the summer sun was insupportable. From that abode of generosity sprang Yaśo Varmma, a very Indra in the destruction of the dark hosts of (his)

enemies, an axe in cleaving the trunks of the elephants of (his) enemies, by whose radiance like the whiteness of the moon and jasmine were illuminated, the caves of *Kulāchala* frequented by the consorts of the *kinnaras*; his son was *Srī Dhanga Deva*, the favourite of the Goddess of Victory the prowess of whose blade's edge was famous in numberless battles. Wonderfully did he kindle in the hearts of the enemy's wives the flame of separation, which unceasingly spread, though besprinkled with the water of tears. [In his undivided reign] there was flight in the wavy curls [alone] of the denizens of the *antahpura*, in amorous dalliance [alone] there was seizure by the neck, in female breasts alone was hardness and brows [alone] were crooked, on the moon [only] were spots, and in the plantain tree [only] was saplessness: the poets spake well, and amidst clusters of the *Kairava* [*Nymphæa esculenta*] alone there was enmity at the rise of *Mitra* (meaning both Sun and friend). The king and sovereign lord *Harsha Deva*, the destroyer of the exultation of enemies, succeeded by the king and sovereign lord *Yaśo Varmma*, destroyer of the exultation of enemies, succeeded by the king and sovereign lord *Dhanga Deva*, destroyer of the exultation of enemies, ruler of *Kālinjar*, in the *Samvat* year 1055 at the full moon of *Kārtik*, on Sunday the 15th day of the bright half of the month, to-day here in *Kāśī*, when the orb [of the moon] which is a joy to the heart of *Rohiṇī*, and is marked with the form of a deer, was seized as a mouthful by the son of *Sinhikā* [*i. e.*, *Rahu*]  
—to the member of the *Bhāradwāja* gotra, and the threefold *pravara* of *Bhāradwāja*, *Angirasa* and *Vārhaspatya*, belonging to the *Vajasaneya śākhā*, to him originally an inhabitant of *Turkayikā* residing in the village of *Durbāhara*, named *Rudra Srī Yaśodbhara*, the son of *Rudra Jaya Kumāra*  
—to him with its waste, streams and tanks, land and water, upland and lowland, and mango and *mahūā* trees, the village of *Chullī* bounded on the four sides by *Saśaroshara*—for the sake of increasing his own and his parent's merit, he the lover of religion gave— \* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \* , and having given the beloved of the people addressed those present saying—Remain happy by continuing to pay (the donee) rents in kind and in money and the rest. *Om*. So the writers of *Smritis* (have said): Many kings, *Sāgar* and others, have enjoyed territory, so long as any retained his lands, so long has his been the fruit. He who receives land in gift, and he who bestows it, both these are meritorious and assuredly go to heaven. He who filches a single cow, a single gold-piece, or one finger's breadth of land, goes to hell till the end of all things. This is the decree of *Srī Dhanga* who is steadfast in the practice prescribed by the *Vedas* and whose ruling prowess pains the circle of his enemies. *Srī Dhanga*.

*Note by Bābu Prannāth Pandit.*

The Society is indebted to Mr. V. A. Smith, B. A., B. C. S., for these two copper-plates recording the grant of two villages by two kings of the Chandel Dynasty, *Dhanga Deva* and *Deva Varma Deva* in Samvat 1055 and 1107 respectively. Mr. Smith has sent transcript and translation of both the plates, which I have revised for publication in the Society's Journal. Some parts of the translation however, specially of plate No. 2, remain tentative and far from literal. The Note appended by Mr. Smith gives the most salient points in the grants, and after the exhaustive notice in General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. II, there is nothing to be added to the ample materials which exist concerning the chronology of the Chandel Dynasty. I have added some philological parallels gathered from several grants, and those who care to pursue the matter further may consult the *Khajurāho* inscription in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XII, and the *Ujjayini* grants in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol. I, reprinted in *Colebrooke's Works*, Vol. II, and the *Banda* copper-plate, *ante* p. 73. The village *Turkayikā*, of No. 2, is the same as the *Takāri* of No. 1, and the *Dhakāri* of the *Banda* copper-plate, *ante* p. 76. All three may be safely identified with the *Tikrī* of modern maps.

## NOTES.

(1.) Compare स च परमभट्टारकमहोदयः ऋषिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीवामदेवपादानु-  
ध्यात, &c. in J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, pp. 491, 492. Also स च परमभट्टारकमहो-  
(राजा)? ऋषिराजपरमेश्वरनिजभोजपार्जित श्रीकाण्डकुब्जाधिपत्य श्रीचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यात  
&c. in J. A. S. B., Vol. X, pp. 99, 100.

(2.) Compare the partly decyphered sloka तेजोभिरहस्करः करुणया  
श्रीदोदनिः in the 9th line of the *Dhavalā* Inscription, J. A. S. B., Vol. X,  
p. 820.

(3.) Compare तेनेदं विद्युच्चलमालोक्य शाश्वतं । J. A. S. B., Vol. VIII,  
p. 297. The sloka संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा तथा हि । वाताश्रविभ्रमसिद्धं, &c. in J. A.  
S. B., Vol. V, p. 379.

(4.) Compare समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् प्रतिनिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदा-  
दींश्च बोधयति । J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 379. राष्ट्रपति विषयपति ग्रामकूलाधिका-  
रिकमहत्तरादीन् समनुबोधयति । J. A. S. B., Vol. VIII, p. 297. The royal  
officers are set out in great detail in the *Kumbhi* grant. J. A. S. B. Vol.  
VIII, p. 492, and in the *Fyzabad* grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.

(5.) Compare स्नात्वा भगवन्तं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य । J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 379.  
नर्मदायां विधिवत् स्नात्वा श्रीमन्महादेवं समभ्यर्च्य । J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492.  
श्रीमद्दाराण्य्यां गङ्गायां स्नात्वा विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवमुनिमनुजयुतपट्टगणोत्सर्पयित्वा तिमिरपट-  
लपाटलपटुमहसमुद्भरोचिषमुपस्थाप्यौषधिपतिसकलशेखरं समभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवनचातुर्भगवतो  
वासु(दे)वस्य पूजां विधाय प्रचुरपायसेन हविषा हविर्भुजं कृत्वा । J. A. S. B. Vol. X,  
p. 100.

(6.) Compare मातापिवोरात्मनश्च पुण्यशोभिद्वये । J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 379. आत्मनो धर्मायुर्वल्विजयेच्चर्यविद्वये इहामुत्र हितार्थमात्मानुग्रहाय । J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 729. मातापिवोरात्मनश्च पुण्यशोभिद्वये । J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492. मातापिवोरात्मनश्च पुण्यशोभिद्वये । J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.

(7.) The phrase सुक्तावसुस्थानविनिर्गताय occurs in the Copper-plate grant of *Arjuna* (Samvat 1267) in J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 379 but has not been translated. A similar omission is noticeable concerning the adjective prefix ओबलभोविनिर्गत to the donee's name in the copper-plate grant of Karka II (Śaka 734) J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 297. The etymological signification of the word विनिर्गत is "gone out or from," but I suppose that in passages like the above, it is used to denote the original residence of the donee.

(8.) J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492, Vol. X, p. 100.

(9.) These words occur in the copper-plate grant of *Ajaya Sinha Deva* (Samvat 932) J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492, and have been translated into "mango trees and honey" (p. 486). Compare समधकाशवाटिकाविटप- of the copper-plate grant of Jayachandra (Samvat 1243) J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100, which has been correctly translated into "with gardens of *modhu* and mango trees" (p. 103). सधूक signifies the tree *Bassia latifolia*, and is never so far as I am aware used as a synonym for सधु, honey.

(10.) Compare सगतेष्वर seemingly a mistake for सगर्तोष्वर in Jayachandra's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. p. 100, which has been translated at p. 103 into "with caves and fertile farms." जष्वर according to Wilson signifies saline soil. The phrase सगर्तोष्वर in Ajaya Siṅha's copper-plate grant J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492, where it is translated into "together with ..... salt-pits."

(12.) Compare सल्लवणाकरः in J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492. सल्लवणाकरः in J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.

(13.) Compare सनिधिः सोपनिधिः in Pravara Sena's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 729. सवनपर्वतः in Ajaya Siṅha's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492; and सगिरिगहननिधानः in Jayachandra's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.

(14.) Compare चतुराषाटनापलक्षितः in the copper-plate grant of Karka II. J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 298. चतुराषाटविसर्गः in Ajaya Siṅha's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492 and सोर्द्धषचतुराषाटविशुद्धः in Jayachandra's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100, the first half of which compound seems to have been omitted from the translation at p. 103. The words in the present plate may also be read as चतुःकट्टविशुद्ध. which synonymous expression also occurs in Arjuna's copper-plate grant, J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 379.

(15.) Compare सगोप्रचारः in Ajaya Siṅha's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492. दृष्टाद्यतिगोचरपर्यन्तः in Jayachandra's copper-plate

grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100, where it has been translated into "which extends as far as *Trinayuthi*." (p. 103).

(16.) This is the usual reservation about previous endowments. Compare पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायरहितो in J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 298. देवब्राह्मण-भुक्तिवर्जम् Vol. V, p. 379.

(17.) Compare आज्ञाविधेयैर्भूत्वा in J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 379. आज्ञाविधेयीभ्य in J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.

(18.) Compare यथा दीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यदिकं. J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 379, which is translated into "the full usufruct of all the rights and dues heretofore paid to Government," (p. 382). Also यथादीयमानकरकर-पूरनिकप्रभृतिनियतानियतसमस्त in J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100 which is generally translated at p. 103 into "its revenues, as settled, or are to be settled."

(19.) Compare आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयः &c. in J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 729. सचन्द्रार्कावसरित्यवतसमकालीनः &c. in J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 298.

(20.) This *sloka* occurs amongst others in J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 379. Vol. VIII, pp. 298, 493. Vol. X, p. 100.

(21.) J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 494. Vol. X, p. 100.

(22.) Compare J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 494 where घराश्वा is a mistake for वराश्वाः, and Vol. X, p. 100.

(23.) J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 379. Vol. VIII, p. 493. Vol. X, p. 100. In *Pravara Sena's* copper-plate grant the latter half of the *sloka* is different :

खट्वाम्परदत्ता वा यो हरेत वसुधराम् ।

गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतमिति ॥ J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 729.

(24.) In this *sloka* सुवर्ण should be substituted for the sake of the metre for खर्ण. Compare J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 493.

(25.) The words in the original सुहवास समावाये seem distinct enough, but I am unable to attach any meaning to the compound.

*The Antiquities of Bagurá (Bogra).—By H. BEVERIDGE, C. S.*

Though Bagurá is almost a by-word among the Officers of Government for seclusion and dulness, yet like most places in this world it has attractions which only require unveiling. Perhaps to most Anglo-Indians, Bagurá is chiefly interesting, because it was the residence of Sir George Yule and the scene of many of his tiger-slaying exploits, but in reality the district has claims to attention of another and more enduring order. Foremost among these is the circumstance that it occupies an important place in the legendary and historical annals of Bengal. It is traversed from north to south by the sacred Karatoyá, which divides it into two nearly equal portions. This river has now dwindled into an insignificant stream, easily fordable in the cold weather and scarcely navigable except



in the height of the rains. But in old times, it was a great river, and formed the boundary between Bengal and Kámrúp. The western bank has apparently undergone little change. The old rampart, known as Bhím-jangal, still runs alongside of the western bank, and the ancient mound and fortification of Mahásthán continues to overhang the sacred bathing-place at Síla-dwíp; but on the east the appearance of the country has been greatly changed. The old river-bed has been nearly filled up, and long and wide churs, "made blithe by plough and harrow", now cover the channel up which the ships of the famous Chánd Saudágar used to sail.

Though no longer a territorial boundary, the Karatoyá is still remarkable for the demarcation which it makes between two distinct kinds of soil. On the west, Bagurá is a veritable land of Edom, the soil being almost as red as blood. It is at the same time so hard and tenacious, that ditches cut in it retain their sharpness of outline for years, and that the walls of the peasants' huts are almost invariably made of earth. The ant-hills so common on the edges of the fields testify to the peculiarity of the soil, for they stand up in sharp and many-pointed pinnacles and are like Adens in miniature. On the east of the Karatoyá, however, all is sand and alluvium, and the ryots have to construct the walls of their houses with reeds or mats. This difference of soil is said to affect the crime of the district; for burglaries are reported to be rare in the western thánás, as it is no easy matter for thieves to break through and steal, when the walls of the houses are so thick and hard as they are in the "Khíar" land. The etymology of the word Karatoyá is indicative of the antiquity and sanctity of the river. The name is derived from *kar* 'the hand' and *toyá* 'water', and is held to signify that the river was formed by the water which was poured on the hands of Siva, when he married the mountain-goddess Párvati.

I find also that there is the same tradition in Bagurá as in Maimansingh about the origin of the name Das-kahániá as applied to Sherpur. The Bagurá Sherpur is called Das-kahániá as well as the Maimansingh Sherpur, and the explanation given is, that the Karatoyá was once so broad that ten káhans had to be paid for crossing it. The explanation, however, does not seem a very probable one, for ten káhans means 12,800 kaurís, *i. e.*, one rupee, and I can hardly believe that any Bengali ever paid so much for crossing a river. It is just possible that the charge had reference not to the breadth of the river but to the fact that it separated two rival kingdoms. The charge may therefore have been in the nature of an embargo or an export-duty, and went for the most part into the pocket of the king or his representative, and not to the ferryman. It would be quite in accordance with the principles of native finance to levy such exorbitant duties on people leaving the country or taking merchandise abroad.



By the Hindus Bagurá is popularly identified with the country of king Virat, where the five Pándavas remained hidden for a year. Bagurá, they tell us, was the Dakshina Go-grih or southern cow-house (*Scotticè* byre) of king Virat, the northern one being in Ghorághát, *i. e.*, Aswasála. Bhím, they say, disguised himself as Virat's herdsman, and built the rampart known as Bhím's Jangal to make a pen for the cattle. So say the Paṇḍits, while the ryots improve the evidence got from this by pointing to the stone-pillar in the Badalgáchhi tháná and calling it Bhím's *pánti*, *i. e.*, Bhím's ox-goad. Additional corroboration is sought from the fact that there are villages in Bagurá, known by the names of Virat and Kichak (Virat's brother-in-law). Unfortunately, however, names of places are more likely to be the offspring of traditions than to be evidence of their genuineness, and even if the village of Kichak be old, it more probably derives its name from the wandering gypsies and robbers of the last century who were called Kichaks, than from the villain of the Mahábhárat.

A more convincing indication of the antiquity of Bagurá was obtained only last year when a tank was being dug in the middle of the town. The tank had been excavated to a considerable depth, when the workmen came on the top of a brick well. The well is still standing in the tank and may be seen by the curious. It is circular in form and solidly built with large, thin bricks which are so broad in proportion to their length as to be nearly square. The mode of building seems peculiar, for the bricks are arranged in layers which are alternately composed of flat and perpendicular bricks. The top now visible appears to me to be the real top of the well, and it is some fifteen feet below the present surface of the country. The remarkable thing is that the earth is not sand or chur-earth, but is solid, red soil. How the well came to be where it is, I cannot explain; but if the fifteen feet of earth were really gradually deposited above it, then the well must be many centuries old. Close to this tank, and only separated by the public road, there is an interesting proof of the antiquity of the soil in a magnificent Banyan tree. It is, I think, the finest tree I have seen next to that in the Botanical Gardens at Calcutta, and it is much more attractive than the latter, because it is still in the heyday of its career of beneficence. The Bagurá market is held under it and twice a week hundreds of men and cattle are sheltered by it from the sun and rain.

The real glory of Bagurá perhaps is the Badalgáchhi pillar which bears an inscription of the Pál Rájás, and which has been described by Sir Charles Wilkins and more recently by a native gentleman. I have never seen this pillar, and I hear that it is now so shrouded in jungle as to be almost inaccessible. As it is situated in the Government Estate of Jaipur, it is to be hoped that the authorities will look after its preservation. It is locally known as Bhím's *pánti* or ox-goad.

The most widely-known antiquity in Bagurá is Mahásthán, or the Great Place, which is situated seven miles north of the Civil Station. Mahásthán probably originally owed its importance to its being near a sacred bathing-place, and hence some have with a perverse ingenuity suggested that the true name is Mahásnán. Afterwards it became the habitation of a Kshatriya prince named Parasurám. Some traditions identify him with Parasuráma the destroyer of the Kshatriyas, though to do this, it is necessary to change his caste and make him a Bráhmaṇ. He was defeated and slain by a Muhammadan, named Muhammad Sháh Sultán, and probably it is this circumstance which has done most to perpetuate his fame. Muhammad Sháh Sultán is buried at Mahásthán, and his tomb is annually visited by thousands of pilgrims. There is no inscription on the tomb, and no one seems to know exactly who he was or where he came from. He bears the title of Máhi-suwár or fish-rider, and Hindus who swallow their own traditions wholesale, think they must rationalize this epithet by referring it to the figure head of the ship which brought the faqír. It is hardly worth while to do this when there are so many more marvels connected with him. The name Máhi-suwár probably has its origin in invention, pure and simple.

The only genuine inference which we can make, I think, from Muhammad Sháh's history is, that he was the hero of a popular rising. He was not a fighting man apparently, and is never called a Ghází, like the famous Ismá'il of Rangpúr. Parasurám was probably a bigoted tyrant, and was killed by those of his subjects who had turned Muhammadans. This view is supported by the local tradition that Parasurám could not bear the sight of a Musalmán. It seems also certain that Muhammad Sháh was helped by Parasurám's own subjects; for the tradition is, that one Harpál, the Rájá's sweeper, used to convey information to Muhammad Sháh of what was going on inside the palace. The sweeper's tomb is still pointed out on the mound of Mahásthán, and until Muhammadans got more puritanical, they used to make offerings at it of *sharáb* and *kabáb*, *i. e.*, meat and wine. Muhammad Sháh's tomb is in good preservation and is lighted up every night. It is surrounded by a wall, and close to the doorway there is a large stone Gauripát (not a lingam) lying on the ground. Mr. O'Donnell has described Mahásthán in the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1875, Part I, No. 2, but there are some errors in his account. As far as I can learn, the legend of the beautiful Síla Deví has its origin in a mispronunciation. The original name of the place is Síladwip, *i. e.*, the mound of stones, '*dwip*' in Bagurá being used to mean any high place and the epithet *Síla* being applied to this one on account of the large stones lying about on it. The populace, however, have lost sight of this meaning, and so started the tradition of Síla Deví. There is no flight of stairs at Síla Deví's Ghát, only

two old trees. The sacred part of the river extends over  $2\frac{1}{2}$  reaches or about two miles, from Skand (a name of Siva) ghát to Gobindghát in the village of Gokul. The place called Síla Devi's ghát lies about half-way between the above gháts. An annual fair is held in the month of Chait, but the most sacred time is when the conjunction of the planets admits of the bathing's taking place in the month of Pús (Pús Náráyani).

Mr. O'Donnell speaks of the grant for the lákhiráj of Mahásthán having been confirmed in 1666 by the Governor of Dháká. In fact, however, the confirmation is dated 7th Jumáda I, 1096, A. H. (1st April, 1685) in the thirtieth year of the reign. I have seen the original *sanad*, which is in the Record-room at Bogra. The deed bears the seal of Kokultásh Muzaffar-Jang [Husain]. It is in the form of an order addressed to the officials of Silbaris in Sirkár Bázúhá, and directs them to respect the lákhiráj of the saint Muhammad Sultán Mahí-suwár's Ástán. The word 'ástán' suggests to me the idea that Mahásthán may after all be a Muhammadan name meaning the Great Ástán. The Hindu name perhaps was Síladwíp. The place is also often called Mastángarh and under this name it appears in the Survey Map. I send a copy of the *Sanad* along with these remarks.\* With regard to the resumption-proceedings, noted

\* The following is a transcript of the copy of the *Sanad*—

✽ میر سید سلطان محمود مہاشی سوار ✽

مقرر شد کہ متصدیان مہمات حال واستقبال و چودھریان و قانون گویان  
پرگنہ سیلبرس سرکار بازوہا بدانند چون بعرض رسید کہ بموجب فرمان والاشان  
واسناد حکام سابق خادمی آستانہ مقدسہ سلطان العارفين حضرت . . . . و خارج  
جمع مستان گزہ و زمین در پیچ ندی مشمولہ پرگنہ مذکور بسید محمد طاهر و سید  
عبد الرحمان و سید محمد رضا با فرزندان بلکہ مشارکت غیرے مقرر است می باید کہ  
مشار الیہم را خادم روضہ منورہ دانستہ مستان گزہ و اراضی مسطور را بمومی الیہم  
وا گذارند کہ در ورثہ خودہا رسیدہ نذر و نیاز آستانہ مقدسہ و واملاک آنرا خرج  
خانقاہ و ارادان و صادران و صرف معشیت خودہا نمودہ بدعاگوئی دوام دولت  
اشتغال میداشتم باشند \* درین باب قدغن دانند \* تکریر بقاریخ ۷ شہر جمادی الاول  
سنہ ۳۰ جلوس مطابق سنہ ۱۰۹۶ ہجری قلمی شد فقط \*

پادشاہ

عالم گیر غازی

کوکناس

مظفر جنگ بہادر

by Mr. O'Donnell, I must in justice to our Government observe that no attempt was made to resume the whole tenure. All the land within the garh or fortification (some thousands of bighas apparently) was admitted to belong to the lákhirájdárs. The dispute was only about 300 bighas of chur-land which had formed between Mahásthán proper and the river-channel. The resumption-proceedings, however, must have been rather harassing to the proprietors; for they began in 1824, and did not end till December 1843. Síla Deví's Ghát is in this chur which was sought to be resumed, and this perhaps is enough to show the baselessness of the story about her, for clearly the chur was formed long after Mahásthán was made.

### *Translation.*

It has been ordered that the Mutaʿaddís of all present and future matters of government, and the Chaudhurís, and Kánúngos of Pargana Sílbaris in Sirkár Bázúhá should bear in mind that, inasmuch as it has come to the knowledge of government that according to the *farmáns* and *sanads*, granted by former rulers, the service of the sacred shrine of the king of saints, Hazrat ..... and income of Mastángarh and the land comprised within the bend of the river, in the said Pargana, have been settled on Sayyid Muhammad Táhir and on Sayyid 'Abdur-rahmán and on Sayyid Muhammad Razá and on their children, without anyone else being a partner, it is necessary that the above-mentioned persons should be looked upon as the servitors of the illuminated shrine, and that they should be left in possession of Mastángarh and of the above described lands, so that the lands may go down to their heirs; that they may perform the vows and prayers as usual at this holy shrine; that they may apply the income to defraying the expenditure of the religious house, on travellers, and on themselves for their own livelihood, so that they may occupy themselves with loyal prayers for the continuance of the present government. Every care is to be taken in this matter.

Written on the 7th Jumáda I, of the 30th year of the present reign, corresponding to the year of the Hijra 1096.

(Signed) Muzaffar Jang Bahádúr, foster-brother (*kokultásh*) of 'Alamgír Pádsháh-i-Ghází.

It is impossible to reconcile the particulars given in the sanad copy with historical facts. *First*, the name should be Muzaffar Husain not Muzaffar Jang. It is possible that the copyist mistook حسين for جنگ. *Secondly*, Muzaffar Husain Kokultash (also called Fidái Khán A'zam Kokah, *kokah* being the same as *kokultásh*) was governor of Bengal from the middle of 1088 H., [A. D. 1677] *i. e.*, the 20th year of 'Alamgír, to the 9th (or 12th) Rabí II, 1089 (*i. e.*, the 21st year of 'Alamgír), when he died at Dháká.

But the 7th Jumáda I, 1096 [1685, A. D.] falls in the 28th year of 'Alamgír, whose 30th year commences with the 1st Ramazán 1097 [A. D. 1685].

The name of the saint is written at the top instead of in its proper place in the body of the deed, in order to do him honor. This is in accordance with Hindu customs, as may be seen in *sanads* for lands dedicated to an idol.

I could find nothing Buddhist at Mahásthán, and my impression is that Messrs. Westmacott and O'Donnell have been somewhat too ready to believe that Buddhism once prevailed in Bagurá. Bardankúti is a comparatively recent place, and has nothing to do, I think, with the Pandra Varddhana of the Chinese pilgrim. There are two statues at Mahásthán. One appears to be Basudeb (Krishna), and the other is simply a mermaid. It has no theological signification at all, I think, and is just a fantastic figure such as are common in Hindu palaces. The "right hand clenched," referred to by Mr. O'Donnell is, I think, a foot.

One curious remain at Mahásthán is a large brick well with rude stone steps leading down it. The steps are simply large stones jutting out from the brick work and look very awkward things to descend by. However I was told that many persons go down by them at the time of the fair. The well is called the Jiyat-kund, or well of life, and the tradition is, that Parasurám for a long time got the better of Sháh Sultán, because when any Hindu soldier was killed, Parasurám revived him by sprinkling water from this well over him. The sweeper Harpál told Sháh Sultán of this, and then he destroyed the efficacy of the water by throwing pieces of beef into it. The fortification of Mahásthán is quadrangular in shape, and is popularly said to be two miles square. There are four openings in it, and these are pointed out as the gates. One is called the Támár Darwázah, because it is said to have been sheathed with copper. Outside the rampart there is on one side a large lake, called the Kálidohá Ságar. There are islands in it, and a promontory on its banks is called Bish-Mathan, because it is said that on it the goddesses Lutta and Padya mixed the poison which destroyed Chánd Saudágar's family. Chánd Saudágar is, as is well known, the impious merchant who would not worship Manesha, or the Lady of the Snakes. He is said to have lived at Chándmoa, *i. e.*, Chándmukh, near Mahásthán, and the foundations of the house he built for his son are still pointed out.

Another antiquity in Bagurá, the importance of which, however, is a good deal exaggerated by the people, is Jogir Bhaban, or the Ascetic's house. It lies some seven miles west of Bagurá. It appears to have been an early settlement of the Gosáins, or followers of Siva. The remains consist of some temples with elaborately carved wooden doors. One temple has the Bengali date 1089, and the name Meher Náth Sadak. One of the doors has the date 1119, and the name of Shukhal Náth Gosáin. There is one curious tomb with three monuments of different sizes. The largest is the guru's, the second is the disciple's, and the third and smallest is said to be that of the guru's dog ("his faithful dog shall bear him company"). There is a well of life here, too, but it is quadrangular in shape. The jogí in charge of the temples gave me a curious instance of faith. There are several images inside one temple, and the jogí candidly said that he

could not tell what god one of them represented. However, he said, as it was in the temple he accepted it and worshipped the unknown god. To the west of Jogir Bhaban, there are said to be the remains of the house of the Rájá Salbon (Sáliváhan?) and to the north of it, the remains of the house of the Rájá Srí Náth. Perhaps they were ancestors of Parasurám.

Returning to Mahásthán, I have to say that Parasurám was evidently a devoted worshipper of Siva. Indeed, he seems to have meditated setting up a rival to Banáras. In and about Mahásthán, there are places called Káshí, Brindában, and Mathurá.

In 1862, or thereabouts, a number of gold coins were found at Báman-pára, near Mahásthán. The most of them have disappeared, but I have seen two, and have sent them to the Asiatic Society for identification. The records of the case which is said to have taken place about them have been destroyed. In 1874, a pot of old rupees was found in the village of Mahásthán by a labourer who was digging a ditch in a pân garden. The owners of the pân garden wrested the coins from him, and were convicted, rather harshly I think, of robbery and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. On appeal, their sentence was reduced to three months. Some of the coins were bought from the owners by Major Hume and were afterwards sent to the Asiatic Society. One coin was lying in the Magistrate's Máلكhánah, and has been sent by me to Professor H. Blochmann.\* I have also sent down two other silver coins which are said to have been found at Mahásthán.

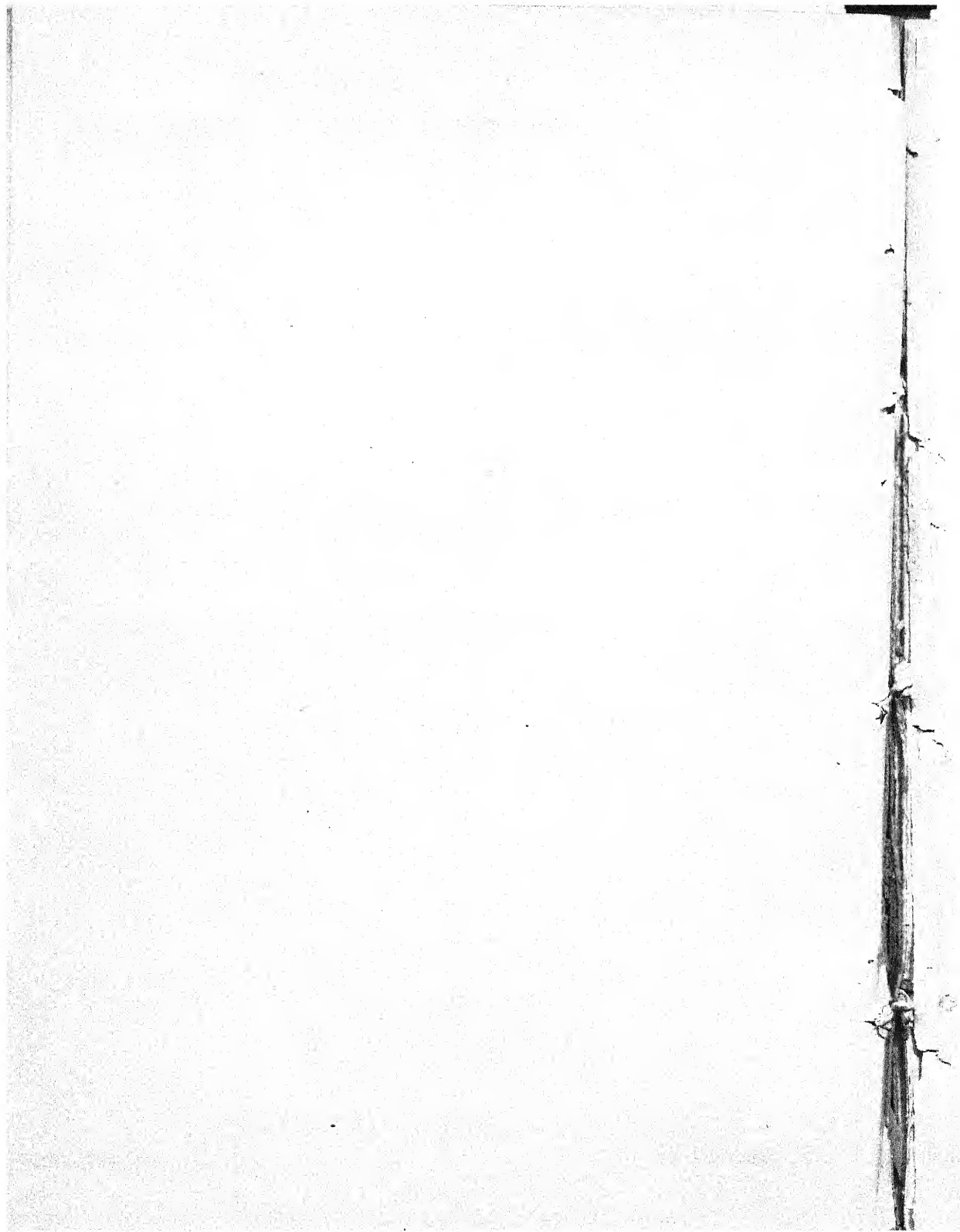
\* The silver coins were described in Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Part I, for 1875, p. 288. The coins now sent are five in number, *viz.*, 2 gold coins, regarding which Dr. Rájendrakála Mitra says:—"One of them, with the lion on the reverse, "belongs to Mahendra Gupta, or as given on the margin of the obverse, Sri Mahendra "Sinha; and the other to Chandra Gupta. Both have been figured in Thomas's Prin- "sep. The princes belong to the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era."

The three silver coins are—(1) a silver *tápkah* of Shams-uddín Ilyás Sháh of Bengal, as published by Thomas in his 'Initial Coinage of Bengal.'

(2.) A silver *tápkah*, struck in 862 H., by Mahmúd Sháh I, of Bengal as figured in this Journal, for 1875, Pl. XI, No. 7. The reverse is the same as in Nos. 5 and 8, but the reading is still doubtful.

(3.) A silver *tápkah* by the same king, of coarse manufacture, similar to Nos. 2 and 3, of Pl. XI, *loc. cit.*







# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1878.

*Mathurá Notes.*—By F. S. GROWSE, M. A. OXON., B. C. S.  
(With eleven plates.)

The following scraps from my note-book have been hastily thrown together in the midst of the worry and confusion occasioned by my sudden and most unexpected transfer from a district, to which I had become greatly attached, and where I had confidently hoped to spend with much pleasure to myself and some slight advantage to the public the few years that yet remain of my career in the executive branch of the service. I cannot avoid this personal explanation, as it supplies the only adequate apology for the very unfinished state in which these fragments appear. I had intended to work up several of them into separate articles; but the opportunity of doing this has been denied me, and I have no choice but either to send them as they are, or else allow them to perish amidst the general wreck in which all my household gods are now involved.

1. *Gosáin Hari Vans of Brindaban, and the sect of the Rádhá Vallabhis.*

One of my inchoate projects was the compilation of a series of notices illustrating the life and doctrine of the different Vaishnava Reformers of the 16th and 17th centuries, who all made Brindaban their head centre. Though both the men themselves and their writings are scarcely known by name to European Orientalists, they have had an enormous influence on the tendencies of modern Hindu thought, and the sects which they founded still continue to gather converts from all parts of India. To last year's volume of the Society's Journal I contributed an article on Swámi Hari

Dás and his descendants, the Gosains of the temple of Bánke Bihári; and in the Introduction to the first Book of my translation of the Rámáyana I have given an account of Tulsi Dás, which I had intended to supplement, on the completion of the poem, with a disquisition on his theological system. But both translation and disquisition must now be indefinitely postponed; for a certain amount of quiet and composure is necessary for the adequate performance of so long and laborious an undertaking. I was under the impression that such a series, however dull and occasionally repulsive the separate articles might be, would still be of interest to the student and supply sound material, out of which to construct one short chapter at least in the great book of the future, the History of Comparative Religion. This project however is very summarily disposed of, since it is only at Mathurá that MSS. are obtainable, nor would the Gosáins communicate them to any one, in whom they had not by long intercourse acquired confidence: so suspicious are they of European interference. The language moreover in which the poems are written is not without difficulty and requires some special study, even on the part of natives, before it is readily intelligible. These are probably the reasons why Prof. Wilson in his 'Religious Sects', is able to give very full and accurate accounts of the great teachers of earlier times, who wrote in Sanskrit, while his notices of the more modern schools are meagre and apparently, as a rule, not derived from original sources. Thus, though he devotes five pages to the Rádhá Vallabhis, he does not mention the name even of the Chaurási Pada, which is their great authority, and to illustrate their doctrine, translates a passage from the Brahma Vaivarta Purána, which is rather the standard of the Vallabhacháris, a different sect, who have their head quarters at Gokul.

The founder of the Rádhá Vallabhis was by name Hari Vans. His father, Vyása, was a Gaur Bráhmaṇ of Deva-ban in the Saháranpur district, who had long been childless. He was in the service of the Emperor and on one occasion was attending him on the march from Agra, when at last his wife Tára gave birth to a son at the little village of Bád, near Mathurá, in the *sambat* year 1559. In grateful recognition of their answered prayers, the parents named the child after the god they had invoked, and called him Hari Vans, *i. e.*, Hari's issue. When he had grown up, he took to himself a wife, by name Rukmini, and had by her two sons and one daughter. Of the sons the elder, Mohan Chand, died childless; the descendants of the younger, Gopináth, are still at Deva-ban. After settling his daughter in marriage he determined to abandon the world and lead the life of an ascetic. With this resolution he set out alone on the road to Brindaban, and had reached Charthával, near Hodal, when there met him a Bráhmaṇ, who presented him with his two daughters and insisted upon his marrying them, on the strength of a divine command, which he said he had received

in a vision. He further gave him an image of Krishna with the title of Rádha Vallabh, which on his arrival at Brindaban was set up by Hari Vans in a temple that he founded between the Jugal and the Koliya Gháts on the bank of the Jamuná. Originally he had belonged to the Mádhváchárya Sampradaya and from them and the Nimbáraks, who also claim him, his doctrine and ritual were professedly derived. But in consequence of the mysterious incident, by which he had been induced to forego his intention of leading a celibate life and take to himself two new wives; or rather in consequence of his strong natural passions, which he was unable to suppress and therefore invented a fiction to excuse, his devotion was all directed not to Krishna himself, except in a very secondary degree, but to his fabled mistress Rádhá, whom he deified as the goddess of lust. So abominable a system was naturally viewed at first with no little amazement, as is clear from the language of the Bhakt Málá, which is as follows :

### ॥ मूल ॥

श्रीहरिवंसगुसाईभजनकी रीति सङ्गत कोऊ जानि है ॥

श्रीराधाचरणप्रधान हृदै अति सुदृढ़ उपासी ।

कुंजकेलि दंपति तहांकी करत षवासी ॥

सर्वसुमहाप्रसाद प्रसिधिताके अधिकारी ।

विधि निषेध नहि दास अनन्य उत्कठ व्रतधारी ॥

श्रीव्याससुवन पथ अनुसरै सोई भलैं पहिचानि है ।

श्रीहरिवंसगुसाईभजनकी रीति सङ्गत कोऊ जानि है ॥

### *Translation of the text of Nábha Ji.*

“The Gosáin Sri Hari Vans : who can understand all at once his method of devotion ? with whom the feet of blessed Rádhá were the highest object of worship ; a most staunch-souled devotee ; who made himself the page in waiting on the divine pair in their bower of love ; who gloried in the enjoyment of the remnants of all that was offered at their shrine ; a servant who never pleaded obligation or dispensation ; a votary of incomparable zeal. Account him blessed who follows in the path of Vyása's great son, the Gosáin Sri Hari Vans : who can understand all at once his method of devotion ?”

In the gloss, or supplement of Priya Dás, the same sentiment is expanded and a reference made to the legend of the Bráhmaṇ and his two daughters.

## ॥ टोका ॥

श्रीजूकी रीति कोऊ लाषनिमें एक जानें  
 राधाई प्रधान मानें पाकें कृष्ण ध्याइये ।  
 निपट विकट भाव होत न सुभाव त्रैसौ  
 उनहीकी कृपादृष्टि नैकुकिहं पाईये ॥  
 विधि औ निषेध केंद डारे प्रानथ्यारे हिये  
 जिये निज दास निस दिन वहै गाईये ।  
 सुषद चरित्र सब रसिक विचित्र नीकें  
 जानत प्रसिद्ध कहा कहिकै सुनाईये ॥  
 आये यह त्यागि राग व्यथौ प्रिया प्रीतम से  
 विप्र बडभाग हरिआज्ञा दई जानिये ।  
 तेरी उभय सुता व्याहदेवो लेवो नाम मेरो  
 उनको जो वंस प्रसंस जग मांनिये ॥  
 ताही द्वार सेवा विस्तार निज भगतनिकी  
 अगतनिकी गति सो प्रसिद्ध पहिचानिये ।  
 मांनि प्रिय बात यह गह्यो सुष लह्यो सब  
 कह्यो कैसें जात यह मनमें न आंनिये ॥  
 राधिकावल्लभलाल आज्ञा सो रसाल दई  
 सेवा सो प्रकास ओ विलास कुंजधामको ।  
 सोई विस्तार सुषसार दृगरूप पियो  
 दियो रसिक जिन लियो पछि वामको ॥  
 निसि दिन गांन रस माधुरीको पान उर  
 अंतर सिहांन एक काम स्थांमास्थामको ।

गुन सो अनूप कहि कैसेंके सरूप कहे  
लहै मन मोद जैसे ओर नही नामको ॥

*Translation.*

"Would you know the one point in a thousand of Sri Hit Ji's ways? he adored Rádhá first and after her Krishna. A most strange and unnatural fashion, that none could even faintly comprehend save by his favour. He obliterated all distinction between obligation and dispensation; his Beloved was in his heart; he lived only as her servant, singing the praises of the divinity night and day. All the faithful know his many edifying and holy actions; why tell and repeat them since they are famous already.

"He left his home and came; his passion for Rádhá and Krishna had so grown: but you must know Hari had given an order to a wealthy Bráhmaṇ: 'Bestow your two daughters in marriage, taking my name, and know that their issue shall be famous throughout the world. By their means my worship shall spread among my faithful people, a path for the pathless, of high renown.' Obedient to the loving order he went home; the delight of all was past telling, for it was more than the mind could even conceive. Rádhá's dear spouse gave the gracious command: 'Publish abroad my worship and the delights of my sylvan abode.' He drank in with his very eyes the essence of bliss and gave it to every client who supported the cause of the female divinity. Night and day imbibing the honeyed draught of sweet song and cherishing it in his soul, with no thought but for Syámá and Syám. How is it possible to declare such incomparable merit? the soul is enraptured at the sound more than at that of any other name."

By his later wives he had two sons Ban Chand and Kishan Chand, of whom the latter built a temple to Rádhá Mohan, which is still in the possession of his descendants. The former was the ancestor of the present Gosáins of the temple of Rádhá Vallabh, the chief shrine of the sect. This was built by one of his disciples, a Káyath named Sundar Dás who held the appointment of Treasurer at Delhi. One of the pillars in the front gives the date as *sambat* 1683. An earlier inscription, of 1641, was noticed by Prof. Wilson, but this would seem to have been over the gateway leading into the outer court, which since then has fallen down and been removed. The temple is in itself a handsome building and is further of special architectural interest as the last example of the early eclectic style. The ground plan is much the same as in the temple of Haridev at Gobardhan (described in my *Mathurá Memoir*, Part I, page 172) and the work is of the same character, but carried out on a larger scale. The nave has an eastern façade, 34 feet broad which, as will be seen from the accom-

panying photograph, is in three stages, the upper and lower Hindu, and the one between them purely Muhammadan in character. The interior is a fine vaulted hall (63 ft.  $\times$  20 ft.) with a double tier of openings north and south; those in the lower story having brackets and architraves and those above being Muhammadan arches, as in the middle story of the front. These latter open into a narrow gallery with small clerestory windows looking on to the street. Below, the three centre bays of the colonnade are open doorways, and the two at either end are occupied by the staircase that leads to the upper gallery. Some of the carved panels of the stone ceiling have fallen; but the outer roof, a steep gable, also of stone, is as yet perfect. Some trees however have taken root between the slabs and unless carefully removed must eventually destroy it. The actual shrine, or *cella*, as also at the temple of Gobind Deva, was demolished by Aurangzeb and only the plinth remains, upon which a room has been built, which is used as a kitchen. As no mosque was ever erected at Brindaban, it is not a little strange that Mr. Fergusson in his History of Indian architecture, when speaking of this very locality, should venture to say "It does not appear proven that the Moslems did wantonly throw down the temples of the Hindus, except when they wanted the materials for the erection of mosques or other buildings." A thorough repair of roof, eaves and east front would cost Rs. 4,500, and as a typical example of architecture, the building is worth the outlay. A modern temple has been erected on the south side, and the nave of the old fabric has long been entirely disused. In fact this is the last temple in the neighbourhood in which a nave was built at all. In the modern style it is so completely obsolete that its distinctive name even is forgotten. On the opposite side of the street is a monument to the founder, which however the present generation of Gosáins are too ungrateful to keep in repair. They are the descendants of Braj Chand's four sons, Sundar-Bar, Rádha Ballabh Dás, Braj-Bhúkhan and Nagar Bar Ji; and the heads of the four families so derived are now Daya Lál, Manohar Ballabh, Sundar Lál and the infant son of Kanhaiya Lál.

Hari Vans was himself the author of two poems; the one, the *Chaurási Pada*, or '84 Stanzas,' in Hindi, the other the *Rádha Sudhá Nidhi*, or 'Treasury of Rádha's Delights,' in 170 Sanskrit couplets. The latter, though not much read, is held in great esteem and, regarded solely as a piece of highly impassioned erotic verse, it is a spirited and poetic composition. There is a good Hindi commentary upon it by one Bansidhar, dated *sambat* 1820. It is written in a very florid style and its interminable compounds, to be rendered into intelligible English, would require a greater expenditure of time and thought than I can now bestow upon them. But as MSS. are scarce and Sanskritists may like to see a specimen of the text, I subjoin the first 25 and the last couplet in the original.

## अथ राधासुधानिधिलिख्यते ॥

### ॥ श्लोकः ॥

यस्याः कदापि वसनाञ्जलखेलनोत्थधन्यातिधन्यपवनेन कृतार्थमानी ।  
 योगीन्द्रदुर्गमगतिर्मधुसूदनोऽपि तस्या नमोऽस्तु वृषभानुभुवो दिशेऽपि ॥ १ ॥  
 ब्रह्मेश्वरादिसुदुरुहपदारविन्दश्रीमत्परागपरमाहुतवैभवायाः ।  
 सर्वार्थसाररसवर्षिकपार्द्रदृष्टेस्तस्या नमोऽस्तु वृषभानुभुवो महिम्ने ॥ २ ॥  
 यो ब्रह्मरुद्रशुकनारदभीष्मसुखैरालक्षितो न सहसा पुरुषस्य तस्य ।  
 सद्योवशीकरणचूर्णमनन्तशक्तिं तं राधिकाचरणरेणुमहं स्मरामि ॥ ३ ॥  
 आधाय मूर्ध्नि यदापुरुद्वारगोप्यः काम्यं पदं प्रियगुणैरपि पिच्छमौलेः ।  
 भावोत्सवेन भजतां रसकामधेनुं तं राधिकाचरणरेणुमहं स्मरामि ॥ ४ ॥  
 दिव्यप्रमोदरससारनिजाङ्गसङ्गपीयूषवीचिनिचयैरभिषेचयन्ती ।  
 कन्दर्पकोटिसरमूर्च्छितनन्दसुनुसञ्जीविनी जयति कापि निकुञ्जदेवी ॥ ५ ॥  
 तन्नः प्रतिक्षणचमत्कृतचारुलीखालावण्मोहनमहामधुराङ्गभङ्गि ।  
 राधाननं हि मधुराङ्गकलानिधानमाविर्भविव्यति कदा रससिन्धुसारम् ॥ ६ ॥  
 यत्किङ्करीषु वज्रशः खलु काकुवाणी नित्यं परस्य पुरुषस्य शिखण्डमौलेः ।  
 तस्याः कदा रसनिधेर्वृषभानुजायास्तत्केलिकुञ्जभवनाङ्गनमार्जनी स्याम् ॥ ७ ॥  
 वृन्दानि सर्वमहतामपहाय दूराद्वृन्दाटवीमनुसर प्रणयेन चेतः ।  
 सत्तारणीकृतसुभावसुधारसौघं राधाभिधानमिह दिव्यनिधानमस्ति ॥ ८ ॥  
 केनापि नागरवरेण पदे निपत्य सम्प्रार्थितेकपरिरम्भरसोत्सवायाः ।  
 सभ्रूविभङ्गमतिरङ्गनिधेः कदा ते श्रीराधिके नहि नहीति गिरः शृणोमि ॥ ९ ॥  
 यत्पादपद्मनखचन्द्रमणिच्छटाया विस्फूर्जितं किमपि गोपवधूष्वदर्शि ।  
 पूर्णानुरागरससागरसारमूर्त्तिः सा राधिका मयि कदापि वृषां करोतु ॥ १० ॥  
 उज्जृम्भमानरसवारिनिधेस्तरङ्गैरङ्गैरिव प्रणयलोलविलोचनायाः ।



तस्याः कदानु भविता मयि पुण्यदृष्टिर्दृष्ट्वाटवीनवनिकुञ्जगृहाधिदेव्याः ॥ ११ ॥

वृन्दावनेश्वरि तवैव पदारविन्दं प्रेमाभृतैकमकरन्दरसौघपूर्णं ।

हृद्यर्पितं मधुपतेः स्मरतापमुग्रं निर्वापयत्परमशीतलमाश्रयामि ॥ १२ ॥

राधाकरावचितपल्लववल्लीके राधापदाङ्गविलसन्मधुरस्थलीके ।

राधायशोसुखरमत्तखगावलीके राधाविहारविपिने रमतां मनो मे ॥ १३ ॥

कृष्णामृतं चल विगाढुमितीरिताहं तावत्सहस्र रजनी सखि यावदेति ।

दत्तं विहस्य वृषभानुसुते हि लस्ये मानं कदा रसदकेलिकदम्बजातं ॥ १४ ॥

पादाङ्गुलीनिहितदृष्टिमपत्रपिण्डं दूरादुदीच्य रसिकेन्द्रमुखेन्दुविम्बं ।

वीचे चलत्पदगतिं चरिताभिरामां झङ्कारनूपुरवतीं वत कर्हि राधाम् ॥ १५ ॥

उज्जागरं रसिकनागरसङ्गरङ्गैः कुञ्जोदरे कृतवती नु मुदारजन्याम् ।

सुस्नापिता हि मधुनैव सुभोजिता त्वं राधे कदा स्वपिषि मत्करलालिताङ्घ्रिः ॥ १६ ॥

वैदग्ध्यसिन्धुरनुरागरसैकसिन्धुर्वात्सल्यसिन्धुरतिसान्द्रकपैकसिन्धुः ।

लावण्यसिन्धुरमृच्छविरूपसिन्धुः श्रीराधिका स्फुरतु मे हृदि केलिसिन्धुः ॥ १७ ॥

दृष्ट्वैव चम्पकलतेव चमत्कृताङ्गी वेणुध्वनिं क्वच निश्चयं च विङ्गलाङ्गी ।

सा श्यामसुन्दरगुणैरनुगीयमानैः प्रीता परिष्वजतु मां वृषभानुपुत्री ॥ १८ ॥

श्रीराधिके सुरतरङ्गिणितम्बभागे काञ्चीकलापकलहंसकलानुलापैः ।

मञ्जीरसिञ्जितमधुव्रतगुञ्जिताङ्घ्रिपङ्केरुहैः शिशिरयस्त्र रसच्छटाभिः ॥ १९ ॥

श्रीराधिके सुरतरङ्गिणिदिव्यकेलिकल्लोलमालिनि लसद्ददनारविन्दे ।

श्यामामृताम्बुनिधिसङ्गमतीव्रवेगिन्यावर्त्तनाभिरुचिरे मम सन्निधेहि ॥ २० ॥

सत्प्रेमसिन्धुमकरन्दरसौघधारासारानजस्रमभितः स्रवदाश्रितेषु ।

श्रीराधिके तव कदा चरणारविन्दगोविन्दजीवनधनं शिरसा वहामि ॥ २१ ॥

सङ्केतकुञ्जमनु कुञ्जरमन्दगामिन्यादाय दिव्यमृदुचन्दनगन्धमाल्यम् ।

त्वां कामकेलिरभसेन कदा चलन्तीं राधे नु यामि पदवीमुपदर्शयन्ती ॥ २२ ॥

गत्वा कलिन्दतनयाविजनावतारमुद्धर्तयन्त्यमृतमङ्गमनङ्गजीवम् ।  
 श्रीराधिके तव कदा नवनागरेन्द्रं पश्यामि मग्नयनं स्थितमुच्चनीपे ॥ २३ ॥  
 सत्प्रेमराशिसरसो विकसत्सरोजं खानन्दसिन्धुरससिन्धुविवर्द्धनेन्दुम् ।  
 तच्छ्रीमुखं कुटिलकुन्तलमङ्गजुष्टं श्रीराधिके तव कदा नु विलोकयिष्ये ॥ २४ ॥  
 लावण्यसाररससारमुखैकसारे कारुण्यसारमधुरच्छविरूपसारे ।  
 वैदग्ध्यसाररतिकेलिविलाससारे राधाभिधे मम मनोऽखिलसारसारे ॥ २५ ॥  
 अहुतानन्दलोभश्चेन्नान्ना रससुधानिधिः ।  
 स्तवोऽयं कर्णकलशैर्गृहीत्वा पीयतां बुधाः ॥ १७० ॥  
 इति श्रीवृन्दावनेश्वरीचरणरूपामात्रविजृम्भितश्रीहितहरिवंशगोखामिना  
 विरचिता श्रीराधारससुधानिधिः सम्पूर्णम् ॥ ० ॥

The Hindi poem, the *Chaurási Pada*, is much more popular and most of the Gosáins know at least some of its stanzas by heart. There is a commentary upon it by Lok-náth, dated *sambat* 1855, and another in verse, called the *Rahasya artha-nirúpana* by Rasik Lál, written in *sambat* 1734. Neither of the two, however, is of much assistance to the student; all the simple passages being paraphrased with wearisome prolixity, while real difficulties are generally skipped. I subjoin the text and a translation of the first 12 stanzas.

अथ श्रीहितहरिवंशकृतवाणो लिख्यते ॥

राग विभास ॥

॥ १ ॥

जोड़ जोड़ प्यारो करै सोई मोहि भावै  
 भावै मोहि जोड़ सोई सोई करै प्यारे ।  
 मोकौं तो भावती ठौर प्यारेके नैननि मैं  
 प्यारो भयो चाहै मेरे नैननिके तारे ॥  
 मेरै तौ तन मनप्राणहं तैं प्रीतम प्रिय

अपने कोटिक प्राण प्रीतम मोसौँ हारे ।  
 जै श्रीहितहरिवंश हंसहंसिनी साँवल गौर  
 कहौ कौन करै जलतरंगनि न्यारे ॥

॥ २ ॥

प्यारे बोली भामिनी आजु नीकी जामिनी भेट नवीन मेघसौँ दामिनी ॥  
 मोहन रसिकराइ री माई तासौँ जु मानु करै असी कौन कामिनी ॥  
 जै श्रीहितहरिवंश अवन सुनत प्यारी राधिका रवनसौँ मिली गजगामिनी ॥

॥ ३ ॥

प्रातसमै दोऊ रस लंपट सुरत जुद्ध जैजुत अतिफूल ।  
 अमवारिज घन विंदु वदनपर भूषन अंगहि अंग विकूल ॥  
 ककु रह्यो तिलक सिथल अलकावलि वदनकमल मानौँ अलिभूल ।  
 जै श्रीहितहरिवंश मदनरंग रंगि रहे नैन वै न कटि सिथल दुकूल ॥

॥ ४ ॥

आजु तो जुवती तेरी वदन आनंद भयो पियके संगमके सूचत सुषचैन ।  
 आलस वलित बोल सुरंगरंगे कपोल विथकित अरुण उनीदे दोऊ नैन ॥  
 रुचिर तिलक लेस किरत कुसम केस सिर सीमंत भूषित मानौँ तै न ।  
 करुणा करि उदार राषत कछू न सार दसन वसन लागत जव दैन ॥  
 काहेकौँ दुरति भीर पलटे प्रीतम चीर वसकिये खाँम सिधै सत मै न ।  
 गलित उरसि माल सिथल किंकिनीजाल जै श्रीहितहरिवंश लतागट्ट सैन ॥

॥ ५ ॥

आजु प्रभात लतामंदिरमैँ सुष वरषत अति हरष जुगल वर ।  
 गौरखाँम अभिराम रंगरंगभरे लटक लटक पग धरत अवनि पर ॥  
 कुच कुमकुम रंजित मालावलि सुरतनाथ श्रीखाम धामधर ।

प्रया प्रेमके अंक अलंकृत चित्त चतुरसिरोमणि निज कर ।  
दंपति अति अनुराग सुदित कल गान करत मन हरत परस्पर ॥  
जै श्रीहितहरिवंश प्रसंस परायन गादन अलि सुर देत मधुरतर ॥

॥ ६ ॥

कौन चतुर जुवती प्रिया जाहि मिलत लाल चोरकै रैन ।  
दुरवति क्यौंच दुरै सुनि प्यारे रंगमै गहलै चैनमै नैन ॥  
उर नषचंद विराने पट अटपटेसे वैन ।  
जै श्रीहितहरिवंश रसिक राधापति प्रमथित मै न ॥

॥ ७ ॥

राग विलावल ॥

आजु निकुंजमंजुमै खेलत नवलकिशोर नवीन किशोरी ।  
अति अनुपम अनुराग परस्पर सुनि अभूत भूतल पर जेरी ॥  
विद्रुम फटिक विविधि निर्मित धर नवकर्पूरपराग न थोरी ।  
कोमल किशलय सैन सुपेसल तापर स्याम निवेसित गोरी ॥  
मिथुन हासि परिहासि परायन पीक कपोल कमल पर झोरी ।  
गौर स्याम भुज कलह मनोहर नीवी वंधन मोचत डोरी ॥  
हरिउर सुकर विलोकि अपुनपौ विभ्रम विकल मानजुत भोरी ।  
चित्रुक सुचारु प्रलोइ प्रबोधित पिय प्रतिविंज जनाइ निहोरी ॥  
नेति नेति वचनामृत सुनि सुनि ललितादिक देषत दुरिचोरी ।  
जै श्रीहितहरिवंश करत करधूनन प्रनय कोप मालावलि तोरी ॥

॥ ८ ॥

अतिही अरुण तेरे नैन नलिन री ।  
अलसजुत इतरात रगमगे भए निसिजागर मधिन मलिन री ॥

सिथल पलकमै उठत गोलकगति विधयौ मोहन मृग सकत चलि न री ।  
जै श्रीहितहरिवंश हंसकलगामिन संभ्रम देत भँवरिनी अलीन री ॥

॥ ६ ॥

वनी राधा मोहनकी जेरी ।  
इंद्रनीलमणि स्याम मनोहर सातकुंभ तन गोरी ॥  
भाल विसाल तिलक हरि कामिनि चिकुरचंद विचरोरी ।  
गज नाइक प्रभु चाल गयंदनि गति वृषभानु किसेरी ॥  
नील निचोल जुवति मोहन पटपीत अरुण सिर घोरी ।  
जै श्रीहितहरिवंश रसिक राधापति सु रत रग मैँ वेरी ॥

॥ १० ॥

आजु नागरीकिशोर भावती विचित्र जेर  
कहा कहैँ अंग अंग परममाधुरी ।  
करत केलि कंठ मेलि वाज्जदंड गंड गंड  
परस सरस रासलास मंडली जुरी ॥  
स्यामसुंदरी विहार वाँसुरी मृदंग तार  
मधुर घोष नूपुरादि किंकिनी चुरी ।  
जै श्री देवति हरिवंश आलि निर्तनी सुगंध चालि  
वारि फेरिदेति प्राण देह सौँ दुरी ॥

॥ ११ ॥

मंजुल कल कुंजदेस राधाहरि विशदवेश  
राकानभ कुमदबंधु शरद जामिनी ।  
स्यामलदुति कनकअंग विहरत मिलि एकसंग  
नीरद मनी नील मध्य लसत दामिनी ॥

अरुन पीत नव दुकूल अनुपम अनुरागमूल  
 सौरभजुत सीत अनिल मंदगामिनी ।  
 किशलयदलरचित सैन वोलात पिय चाटु वैन  
 मान सद्धि प्रतिपद प्रतिकूल कामिनी ॥  
 मोहनमन मथत मार परसत कुच नीवी हार  
 वेपथजुत नेति नेति वदत भामिनी ।  
 नरवाहन प्रभुसुकेलि वज्र विधि भर भरत झेलि  
 सौरतरसरूपनदी जगतपावनी ॥

॥ १२ ॥

चलहि राधिके सुजान तेरे हित सुषनिधान  
 रासु रच्यो स्याम तट कलिंदनंदिनी ।  
 निरत जुगवतीसमूह रागरंग अतिकटह  
 वाजत रसमूल मुरलिका अनंदिनी ॥  
 वंसीवट निकट जहाँ परमरमणभुमि तहाँ  
 सकलसुषद मलय वहै वायु मंदिनी ।  
 जाती ईषदविकास कानन अतिसय सुवास  
 राकानिस सरदमास विमल चांदिनी ॥  
 नरवाहन प्रभु निहार लोचनभरि घोषनारि  
 नषसिष सौँ दर्य काम दुषनिकंदिनी ।  
 विलसज्ज भुज ग्रीव मेलि भामिनि सुषसिंधु झेलि  
 नव निकुंज स्याम केलि जगतवंदिनी ॥

*Translation of the first twelve Stanzas of the Chaurási Pada.*

I. "Whatever my Beloved doeth is pleasing to me; and whatever is pleasing to me, that my Beloved doeth. The place where I would be is in my Beloved's eyes; and my Beloved would fain be the apple of my eyes.

My Love is dearer to me than body, soul, or life ; and my Love would lose a thousand lives for me. Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans ! the loving pair, one dark, one fair, are like two cygnets ; tell me who can separate wave from water ?\*

II. " O my Beloved, has the fair spoken ? this is surely a beautiful night ; the lightning is folded in the lusty cloud's embrace. O friend, where is the woman who could quarrel with so exquisite a prince of gallants ? Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans ! dear Rádhiká hearkened with her ears and with voluptuous emotion joined in love's delights.†

III. " At day-break the wanton pair, crowned with victory in love's conflict, were all exuberant. On her face are frequent beads of labour's dew, and all the adornments of her person are in disarray, the paint-spot on her brow is all but effaced by heat, and the straggling curls upon her lotus face resemble roaming bees. (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans !) her eyes are red with love's colours and her voice and loins feeble and relaxed.

IV. " Your face, fair dame, to-day is full of joy, betokening your happiness and delight in the intercourse with your Beloved. Your voice is languid and tremulous, your cheeks aflame, and both your weary eyes are red with sleeplessness ; your pretty *tilak* half effaced, the flowers on your head faded, and the parting of your hair as if you had never made it at all. The Bountiful one of his grace refused you no boon, as you coyly took the hem of your robe between your teeth. Why shrink away so demurely ? you have changed clothes with your Beloved, and the dark-hued swain has subdued you as completely as though he had been tutored by a hundred Loves. The garland on his breast is faded, the clasp of his waist-belt loose (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans !) as he comes from his couch in the bower.

V. " To-day at dawn there was a shower of rapture in the bower, where the happy pair were delighting themselves, one dark, one fair, bright with all gay colours, as she tripped with dainty foot upon the floor. Great Syám, the glorious lord of love, had his flower wreath stained with the saffron dye of her breasts, and was embellished with the scratches of his darling's nails ; she too was marked by the hands of her jewel of lovers. The happy pair in an ecstasy of affection make sweet song, stealing each other's heart (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans !) the bard is fain to praise, but the drone of a bee is as good as his ineffectual rhyme.

\* That is to say : it is nothing strange that Rádhá and Krishna should take such mutual delight in one another, since they are in fact one and are as inseparable as a wave and the water of which the wave is composed.

† The first line is a question put to Krishna by one of Rádhá's maids, asking him if her mistress had promised him an interview. The second line is a remark which she turns and makes to one of her own companions.



VI. "Who so clever, pretty damsel, whom her lover comes to meet, stealing through the night? Why shrink so coyly at my words? Your eyes are suffused and red with love's excitement, your bosom is marked with his nails, you are dressed in his clothes, and your voice is tremulous. (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans!) Rádhá's amorous lord has been mad with love.

VII. "To-day the lusty swain and blooming dame are sporting in their pleasant bower. O list! great and incomparable is the mutual affection of the happy pair, on the heavenly\* plain of Brindaban. The ground gleams bright with coral and crystal and there is a strong odour of camphor. A dainty couch of soft leaves is spread, on which the dark groom and his fair bride recline, intent upon the joys and delights of dalliance, their lotus cheeks stained with red streaks of betel juice. There is a charming struggle between dark hands and fair to loose the string that binds her skirt. Beholding herself as in a mirror in the necklace on Hari's breast, the silly girl is troubled by delusion and begins to fret, till her lover wagging his pretty chin shews her that she has been looking only at her own shadow. Listening to her honeyed voice, as again and again she cries 'Nay, nay,' Lalitá and the others take a furtive peep (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans!) till tossing her hands in affected passion she snaps his jewelled necklet.

VIII. "Ah, red indeed are your lotus eyes, lazily languishing and inflamed by night-long watch, and their collyrium all faded. From your drooping eyelids shoots a glance like a bolt, that strikes your swain as it were a deer and he cannot stir. (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans!) O damsel voluptuous in motion as the swan, your eyes deceive even the wasps and bees.

IX. "Rádhá and Mohan are such a dainty pair, he dark and beautiful as the sapphire, she with body of golden lustre; Hari with a *tilak* on his broad forehead and the fair with a *roli* streak amidst the tresses of her hair: the lord like a stately elephant in gait and the daughter of Vrishabhánu like an elephant queen: the damsel in a blue vesture and Mohan in yellow with a red *khaur* on his forehead (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans!) Rádhá's amorous lord is dyed deep with love's colours.

X. "To-day the damsel and her swain take delight in novel ways. What can I say? they are altogether exquisite in every limb; sporting together with arms about each other's neck and cheek to cheek, by such delicious contact making a circle of wanton delight. As they dance, the dark swain and the fair damsel, pipe and drum and cymbal blend in sweet concert with the tinkling of the bangles on her wrists and ankles and the girdle round her waist. Sri Hit Hari Vans, rejoicing at the sight of the damsels' dancing and their measured paces, tears his soul from his body and lays them both at their feet.

\* *Abhút*, not created, self-produced, divino.

XI. "The pavilion is a bright and charming spot; Rádhá and Hari are in glistening attire and the full-orbed autumnal moon is resplendent in the heaven. The dark-hued swain and nymph of golden sheen, as they toy together, shew like the lightning's flash and sombre cloud. In saffron vesture he and she in scarlet; their affection deep beyond compare; and the air, cool, soft and laden with perfumes. Their couch is made of leaves and blossoms and he woos her in dulcet tones, while coyly the fair one repulses his every advance. Love tortures Mohan's soul, as he touches her bosom, or waist-band, or wreath, and timorously she cries 'off off.' Pleasant is the sporting of the glorious lord, close-locked in oft-repeated embrace, and like an earth-reviving river is the flood of his passion.

XII. "Come Rádhá, you knowing one, your paragon of lovers has started a dance on the bank of the Jamuna's stream. Beves of damsels are dancing in all the abandonment of delight; the joyous pipe gives forth a stirring sound. Near the Bansi-baṭ, a sweetly pretty spot, where the spicy air breathes with delicious softness, where the half-opened jasmine fills the world with overpowering fragrance, beneath the clear radiance of the autumnal full moon, the milkmaids with raptured eyes are gazing on your glorious lord, all beautiful from head to foot, quick to remove love's every pain. Put your arms about his neck, fair dame, pride of the world, and lapped in the bosom of the Ocean of delight, disport yourself with Syám in his blooming bower."

If ever the language of the brothel was borrowed for temple use it has been so here. But, strange to say, the Gosáins, who accept as their Gospel these nauseous ravings of a morbid imagination, are for the most part highly respectable married men, who contrast rather favourably both in sobriety of life and intellectual acquirements with the professors of rival sects that are based on more reputable authorities. Several of them have a good knowledge of literary Hindi: but their proficiency in Sanskrit is not very high: the best informed among them being unable to resolve into its constituent elements and explain the not very recondite compound *sudurúha*, which will be found in the second stanza of the Rádhá-sudhá.

To indicate the fervour of his passionate love for his divine mistress, Hari Vans assumed the title of Hit Ji and is popularly better known by this name than by the one which he received from his parents. His most famous disciple was Vyás Ji of Orchha, of whom various legends are reported. On his first visit to the Swámi he found him busy cooking, but at once propounded some knotty theological problem. The sage without any hesitation solved the difficulty, but first threw away the whole of the food he had prepared, with the remark that no man could attend properly to two things at once. Vyás was so struck by this procedure that he then and there enrolled himself as his disciple, and in a short space of time conceived

such an affection for Brindaban that he was most reluctant to leave it, even to return to his wife and children. At last, however, he forced himself to go, but had not been with them long before he determined that they should themselves disown him, and accordingly he one day in their presence took and eat some food from a Bhangi's hand. After this act of social excommunication he was allowed to return to Brindaban, where he spent the remainder of his life and where his *samádih*, or tomb, is still to be seen.

Another disciple, Dhruva Dás, was a voluminous writer and composed as many as 42 poems, of which the following is a list: 1. Jiv-dasá ; 2. Baid-gyán ; 3. Man-siksha ; 4. Brindaban-sat ; 5. Bhakt-námávali ; 6. Brihad-báman Purán ; 7. Khyál Hulás ; 8. Siddhánt Bichár ; 9. Priti-chovani ; 10. Anandashtak ; 11. Bhajanáshtak ; 12. Bhajan-kundaliya ; 13. Bhajan-sat ; 14. Sringár-sat ; 15. Man-sringár ; 16. Hit-sringár ; 17. Sabha-mandal ; 18. Ras-muktávali ; 19. Ras-hirávali ; 20. Ras-ratnávali ; 21. Premávali ; 22. Sri Priyá Jí kí námávali ; 23. Rahasya-manjari ; 24. Sukhmanjari ; 25. Rati-manjari ; 26. Neh-manjari ; 27. Ban-bihár ; 28. Ras-bihár ; 29. Rang-hulás ; 30. Rang-bihár ; 31. Rang-binod ; 32. Anand-dasa ; 33. Rahasya-latá ; 34. Anand-latá ; 35. Anurág-latá ; 36. Prem-latá ; 37. Ras-anand ; 38. Jugal-dhyán ; 39. Nirtya-bilás ; 40. Dán-líla ; 41. Mán-líla ; 42. Braj-líla.

Other poems by different members of the same sect are the Sevak-báni and the Ballabh-rasik ki báni ; the Guru-pratáp, by Dámodar Dás ; the Hari-nám-mahimá, by Dámodar Swámi ; the Sri Rúp Lál Ji ka ashtáka, by Hit Ballabh ; and the Hari-nám-beli, the Sri Lál Ji badhai and the Sri Lárili Jí ki badhai by Brindaban Dás.

## 2. *The Chhatthi Páld, or Assi Khamba, at Mahában.*

The description of this building given in my Mathurá Memoir, Part I, page 149, is not very accurate. The pillars of the colonnade are mostly, if not all, anterior in date to Máhmúd of Ghazní, and probably belonged to a temple, or it may be to several different temples of the Jaini faith, which he destroyed when he captured the fort in the year 1017. After they had been lying about for centuries, the Muhammadans in the reign of Aurangzib roughly put them together and set them up on the site of a modern Hindu temple that they had demolished. The building so constructed was used as a mosque till quite recent times, and its connection with Krishna, or his worship even, at any earlier period is entirely fictitious. That is to say, so far as concerns the actual fabric and the materials of which it is constructed: the site, as in so many other similar cases, has probably been associated with Hindu worship from very remote antiquity. In Sir John Strachey's time I obtained a grant of Rs. 1000 for the repair of the building, which had fallen into a very ruinous condition, and in digging the

foundations of the new screen-walls (the old walls had been simply set on the ground without any foundation at all) I came upon a number of remains of the true Hindu temple, dating apparently from about the year 1500 A. D. The Iconoclast would not use these sculptures in the construction of his mosque, since they had too recently formed part of an idolatrous shrine, but had them buried out of sight; while he had no scruple about utilizing the old Jaini pillars. Whatever I dug up, I either let into the wall or brought over to Mathurá for the local Museum, which in all probability will now never be instituted.

On a drum of one of the pillars is an inscription, which I read *Rám-dasa kas iknavi kam*, meaning, it would seem, 'Column No. 91, the gift of Rám Dás.' This is now upside down and from this fact as also from what has been said above, it may clearly be seen that my statement in the 'Memoir' that 'the pillars, as they now stand, occupy their original position' cannot be maintained. I still think, however, that in the main they represent the original design and that height was gained, from the first, by the simple expedient of placing one pillar on the top of another. For some of the inner columns are so carved, that they seem to be broken in two in the middle, though they are really each a single shaft.

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### 3. *The Hindu sikhara ; its origin and development.*

If Mr. Fergusson had ever been able to visit Brindaban or to procure photographs of the temples there, it is possible that he would not have found the origin of the Hindu sikhara such an inscrutable mystery as he declares it to be. He conjectures that the external form may have been simply a constructural necessity resulting from the employment internally of a very tall pointed horizontal arch, like that of the Treasury at Mycenæ. But so far as my experience extends, no such arch was ever used in a Hindu temple. On the contrary the *cella*, over which the sikhara is built, is separated from the more public part of the building by a solid wall pierced only by a doorway small enough to be easily closed; while the chamber itself is of no great height and is covered in with a vaulted ceiling, as to the shape of which nothing could be learnt from a view of the sikhara outside. And *vice versâ*. Thus at the great temple of Gobind Deva the central dome of the nave (or porch as Mr. Fergusson very inappropriately calls it) is perfect; but it is impossible to determine from thence with any certainty what would have been the outline and proportions of the tower that the architect proposed to raise over it. I have no question in my own mind that the origin of the sikhara is to be found in the Buddhist stûpa of which a representative example may be seen in Plate XIII sculptured at the back of a small pillar. Nor do I detect any violent break in the

development. The lower storey of the modern temple which, though most commonly square, is occasionally, as in the Madan Mohan example, an octagon and therefore a near approach to a circle, is represented by the masonry plinth of the relic-mound; the high curvilinear roof by the swelling contour of the earthen hill, and the pinnacle with its peculiar base by the Buddhist rails and umbrella on the top of a Dagoba. From the original stúpa to the temple of Parsvanáth at Khajuráho, of the 11th century, the towers of Madan Mohan and Jugal Kishor at Brindaban of the 16th, and the temple of Vishveshvar at Banáras the gradation seems to be easy and continuous.

A description of the two Brindaban temples is given in the Journal for 1872 (pages 318-320), but it is only now that I have been able to get photographs taken of them.

#### 4. *The temple of Gobind Deva at Brindaban.*

Mr. Fergusson in his *Indian Architecture* speaks of this temple as "one of the most interesting and elegant in India, and the only one perhaps, from which a European architect might borrow a few hints." I should myself have thought that 'solemn' or 'imposing' was a more appropriate term than 'elegant' for so massive a building, and that the suggestions that might be derived from its study were 'many' rather than 'few'; but the criticism is at all events in intention a complimentary one. It is, however, unfortunately, that the author of a book, which will long and deservedly be accepted as an authority, was not able to obtain more satisfactory information regarding so notable a *chef d'oeuvre*. The ground-plan that he supplies is extremely incorrect: for it gives in faint lines, as if destroyed, the choir, or *jag-mohan*, which happens to be in more perfect preservation than any other part of the fabric, and it entirely omits the two chapels that flank the *cella* on either side and are integral portions of the design. The *cella* itself is also omitted; though for this there was more excuse, since it was razed to the ground by Aurangzib and not a vestige of it now remains beyond the rough rubble wall of the choir, to which it had been attached. The three towers, over the two side chapels and the dome in the centre of the nave, were certainly never erected. Those over the choir and the sacrum were both finished, and of the former I annex a plan. Its restoration was completed last month, (March 1877) with the exception of the finial and a few stages below it, which had entirely perished, and which Sir John Strachey on that account would not allow me to replace, on the general principle that in all such cases the new work must be more or less conjectural and therefore untrustworthy.

As in the later temple of Rádhá Ballabh (described in the first section

of this article) the triforium is a reproduction of Muhammadan design, while the work both above and below it is purely Hindu.\* It should be noted however that the arches in the middle story are decorative only, not structural: the spandrels in the head might be—and, as a fact, for the most part had been—struck out, leaving only the lintel supported on the straight jambs, without any injury to the stability of the building.

Its restoration was commenced in September 1873, and has been carried on under my supervision, without any professional assistance, up to the present time. The cost was estimated, in the D. P. W., at Rs. 1,32,387, but for the comparatively modest sum of Rs. 38,365 I have been able to accomplish almost all that was ever intended to be done. I had applied for a small supplementary grant of Rs. 3,642; but if it is sanctioned, there will be no one on the spot to see it expended.†

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### 5. *The Sati Burj at Mathurá.*

This is a slender quadrangular tower of red sandstone which stands on the bank of the Jamuná, at the very heart of the modern city. It commemorates the Queen of Maharájá Bihár Mall of Jaypur, and was erected by her son, the Maharájá Bhagawán Dás, in the year 1570 A. D. The upper part, which had been destroyed long previously, was replaced about the beginning of the present century by an exceedingly ugly and incongruous plaster dome, which may help to preserve what remains of the original work, but quite destroys its architectural effect. The lower stories being also in a ruinous condition, I suggested to the reigning Maharájá that he should undertake its restoration as a family monument. It is not at all likely that the work will ever be set on foot; but the design that I had prepared for it may be deemed worthy of preservation. No small amount of time and thought was bestowed upon it, and I hope that architects will consider it both a pleasing object in itself and a probably faithful reproduction of the destroyed original.

\* Thus eclecticism, which after all is only natural growth directed by local circumstances, has for centuries past been the predominant characteristic of Mathurá architecture. In most of the new works that I have taken in hand, and notably in the Catholic Church, which I had commenced and now have to leave unfinished, I have conformed to the *genius loci* and have shewn my recognition of its principles, not by a servile imitation of older examples, but rather by boldly modifying them in accordance with special requirements and so developing novel combinations.

† The grant has been sanctioned and the work is being carried on, under the supervision of the Executive Engineer in the Archaeological Department, by the same local agency and the same body of stone-masons that I had collected and organized.



6. *Mediæval Hindu columns from Sahár.*

Sahár is a small town in the Chhátá Pargana, which was of some importance last century as the favourite residence of Thákur Badan Sinh, the father of Súra Mall the founder of the present Bharatpur dynasty. A short time ago a dispute arose between the Muhammadans and the Hindus as to the possession of a site on which they wished to erect, the one party a mosque, the other a temple. The real fact, as afterwards more clearly appeared, was that the Hindus had originally a temple there, which the Muhammadans had thrown down and built a mosque over it. This too had fallen and the ground had for some years remained unoccupied. The case when brought into Court was decided in favour of the Hindus, who thereupon set to work and commenced the erection of a shrine to be dedicated to Rádhá Ballabh. In digging the foundations, they came upon the remains of the old temple, which I rescued and brought into Mathurá. They consist of 10 large pillars or pilasters in very good preservation and elegantly carved with foliage and arabesques and also a number of mutilated capitals, bases, &c., the whole series proving an interesting illustration of the mediæval Hindu style of architecture. Their value is increased by the fact that two of the shafts bear inscriptions, in which the date is clearly given as *sambat* 1128 (1072 A. D.). With the exception of the date, I have not succeeded in reading much else; but the accompanying photograph\* of one of them is on a scale large enough to be legible. The style that I call 'the mediæval Hindu,' and of which these pillars afford a good late example, began about the year 400 A. D. and continued to flourish over the whole of Upper India for more than seven centuries. It is distinguished by the constant employment in the capital, or upper half column, of two decorative features, the one being a flower-vase with foliage over-hanging the corners and the other a grotesque mask. The physiognomy of the latter is generally of a very un-Indian type, and the more so the further we go back, as is well illustrated by Plate 1<sup>7</sup>, a photograph that Sir John Strachey was kind enough to send me of a pillar in the underground temple in the Allahabad Fort. The *motif* is precisely the same as may be seen in many European cinque cento arabesques, where a scroll pattern is worked up at the ends, or in the centre, into the semblance of a human face. The fashion with us certainly arose out of the classic *renaissance*, and in India also may possibly have been suggested by the reminiscence of a Greek design. But it was more probably of spontaneous and independent origin; as also it was among our Gothic architects, in whose works a similar style of decoration is not altogether unknown. In

\* The base, shown in this photograph, is more than a thousand years older and belongs to the Indo-Scythian period. It has been used simply as a socket in which to imbed the pillar and so raise the inscription above the ground.



the earlier examples, such as that at Allahabad, the face is very clearly marked; though even there the hair of the head and the moustaches are worked off into a scroll or leaf pattern. In later work, of which numerous specimens may be seen in the accompanying illustrations of different dates ranging between the two limits fixed by the Allahabad pillar at the beginning and the Sahár columns at the end, the eyes are made so protuberant, and the other features so distorted and confused by the more elaborate treatment of the foliage and the introduction of other accessories that the proportions of a human face are almost and in some cases are altogether destroyed. The tradition however exists to the present day; and a Mathurá stone-mason, if told to carve a grotesque for a corbel or string-course of any building, will at once draw a design, in which are reproduced all the peculiarities of the old models.

#### 7. *Miscellaneous Antiquities, Mathurá Museum.*

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Plate No. 13 shews two Buddhist rails of early character. The one giving the representation of a *stupa*, to which I have already referred, was brought from the *khera* of Jaysinhpura, a village on the road between Mathurá and Brindaban. The other I dug out of one of the Chauwára mounds, where I found also a copper coin of Kanishka's reign. The columns with their bell-capitals surmounted by winged lions, and the miniature window-fronts or pediments, with which the architraves are decorated, illustrate the characteristic features of the architecture of the period. The upper group represents a sacred tree, enclosed in a railing, with two devotees worshipping it, the one having a wreath in his hand and the other a *chauri*. Below is an inscription in a single line ending with the word *dánam*, which records the name of the donor; but though most of the letters are clear, I cannot determine what the name is. The second group is probably a scene from one of the Játakas, to which the two birds will probably at some time give a clue.

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Plate No. 14 shews a Buddhist rail, also of the Indo-Scythian period, of unusually large dimensions, the height of the stone, though a piece of it has been broken off at the bottom, being still 6 ft. 4 in. It is sculptured with a female figure, almost nude but for her metal ornaments, who carries a wicker-work umbrella, the stick of which is so long that it rests upon the ground. In the compartment above is a very curious bas-relief representing two monkeys and a bird, seated on basket-work chairs, with a hideously mis-shapen dwarf standing on the ground between them and apparently shedding tears.

In Plate 15 the two Buddhist rails placed on either side of the lowest range of sculptures are the same of which a back view is given in Plate 13.

The draped Buddha, which I rescued from the bed of the Jamuná at Jaysinhpura, is of early date and executed in a different style from most of those found in the neighbourhood. The arabesque pilaster next to it is a good specimen of the mediæval Hindu period. I found it in opening out the new paved way along the river bank in the city. The fragment of wall-decoration and the head are from the Kankáli tila, and the larger stone, covered with miniature temple façades of the same style as the caves at Karli and Ajanta, I brought from Mahában.

In the second tier (over an intermediate row of three Buddhist cross-bars) the small bas-relief, that occupies the place in the centre, is very curious. It represents a rustic wooden throne, with drapery thrown over it and a footstool set in front, and two attendants standing at the back, each with a *chauri* to keep off the flies. The object of veneration is a relic-casket, which is exposed upon the chair. Next to the pillar with the figure of Mayá Devi under the sál tree is a stone that I brought from Shergaḥ in the Chhátá Pargana, where I found it imbedded in one of the towers of a Fort built according to tradition by the Emperor Sher Sháh. It is the only example that I have seen in India of the use of the trefoiled circle as a decoration. It is the special characteristic of the architecture of Kashmír, a style which I am inclined to believe once spread much farther south, and was of purely Indian origin; while the later styles were modified more or less by Greek influences. The festoon is the same, as in the two flanking pillars (from the Kankáli tila) which I ascribe to about the year 400 A. D. the flower-vase being here used only, without the grotesque mask which was of somewhat later introduction. On the other side of the enthroned relic is what appears to be the spandril of a doorway with an outer border of grapes and vine leaves, and in the jamb the model of a triumphal pillar with bell-capital and winged lions and an elephant standing above the abacus. The upper portion of such a pillar with an inscription on the abacus, dated in the reign of Huvishka *sambat* 39, is also in the museum, and is figured by General Cunningham in volume III of his archæological survey.

Of the two nude Jaina figures in the third tier, the one with the group of devotees below it, adoring the *chakra*, is of special interest on account of the inscription, which gives the date both in letters and figures as *sambat* 57. It would seem either that the century is omitted, or that some other era than that of Vikramáditya is intended: for the figure has rather a modern appearance, and the letters, which are very scratchy and ill-formed, are quite unlike the bold characters in the other inscriptions, when the king's name is given as well as the date and which are therefore known to be of the Indo-Scythian period.

In the upper tier, the female figure with a child in its lap (from the Manoharpur quarter of the city) is of exceptional character and uncertain date. The square box, with a seated Buddha fully draped, on each of the four sides, is shewn by the flanking columns to be of great antiquity. I brought it from the Mahávidya tila, which is unquestionably one of the oldest religious sites in Mathurá and probably has many relics of the past buried under the modern temple. The architrave, with defaced figure sculpture at either end, I found in the progress of the repairs of the Chhatthi Pálná at Mahában, being part of the Hindu temple there which was destroyed by Aurangzib. It is a good example of a simple but very effective style of decoration.

#### 8. *The Festival of the Holi, as kept in Braj.*

In 1877 the Festival of the Holi fell unusually early in the year, while the weather was still cool enough to allow of a mid-day ride without serious inconvenience. I took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded me and made the round of the principal villages in the Chhátá and Kosi Parganas where the rejoicings of the Phúl Dol, for so these Hindu Saturnalia are popularly termed, are celebrated with any peculiar local observances, visiting each place on its special fête-day and jotting down what I saw in my note-book. Several of the usages are, I believe, entirely unknown beyond the limits of Braj, even to the people of the country, and—so far as I could ascertain by enquiries—they had never before been witnessed by any European. The following extracts from my diary may therefore be thought worthy of preservation.

*Feb. 22nd, Barsána, the Rangila Holi.*—In the middle of the town is a small open square, about which are grouped the stately mansions and temples built by the great families who resided here during the first half of the 18th century. I find a seat in the balcony over the gateway of the house still occupied by the impoverished descendants of the famous Katára, Rúp Rám, the founder of Barsána's short-lived magnificence, from which I have a full view of the humours of the crowd below. The cheeriness of the holiday-makers as they throng the narrow winding streets on their way to and from the central square, where they break up into groups of bright and ever varying combinations of colour; with the buffooneries of the village clowns and the grotesque dances of the lusty swains, who with castanets in hand, caricature in their movements the conventional graces of the Indian ballet-girl,

*Crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus,*

all make up a sufficiently amusing spectacle; but these are only interludes and accessories to the great event of the day. This is a sham fight between

the men from the neighbouring village of Nand-gánw and the Barsána ladies, the wives of the Gosáins of the temple of Lárli Ji, which stands high on the crest of the rock that overlooks the arena. The women have their mantles drawn down over their faces and are armed with long heavy bambus, with which they deal their opponents many shrewd blows on the head and shoulders. The latter defend themselves as best they can with round leather shields and stags' horns. As they dodge in and out amongst the crowd and now and again have their flight cut off and are driven back upon the band of excited viragoes, many laughable incidents occur. Not unfrequently blood is drawn, but an accident of the kind is regarded rather as an omen of good fortune, and has never been known to give rise to any ill-feeling. Whenever the fury of their female assailants appears to be subsiding, it is again excited by the men shouting at them snatches of the following ribald rhymes. They are not worth translation, since they consist of nothing but the repetition of the abusive word *sálá*, applied to every person and thing in Barsána. That town being the reputed home of Rádhá, the bride, its people are styled her brothers; while the Nand-gánw men account themselves the brothers of Krishna the bridegroom.

### श्रीभांडवधाई बरसानेकी ।

सब सारे बरसानेवारे रावलवारे सारे ।  
जगन्नाथके नाती सारे वे बरसानेवारे ॥  
लवानियां और कटारे सारे जे बरसानेवारे ।  
डोंम ढड़ेरे सबही सारे और पत्तरावारे ॥  
वाग बगीचा सबही सारे सारे सींचनवारे ।  
बिरकत और गुदरिया सारे लंबे सुतनावारे ॥  
वावाजी भानों खरिसारे प्रेम सरोवरवारे ।  
खाट खटोला सबही सारे चौका चूल्हे सारे ॥  
अहलायत महलायत सारे सारे खंभतिहारे ।  
अगवारे पिछवारे सारे गैल गिरारे सारे ॥

*Feb. 23rd, Nand-gánw.*—Another sham fight as on the preceding day, only with the characters reversed; the women on this occasion being the

wives of the Gosáins of the Nand-gánw temple, and their antagonists the men of Barsána. The combatants are drawn up more in battle-array, instead of skirmishing by twos and threes, and rally round a small yellow pennon that is carried in their midst; but the show is less picturesque in its accessories, being held on a very dusty spot outside the town, and was more of a phallic orgie.

*Feb. 27th, the Holi. Phálen.*—Here is a sacred pond called Pahlád-kund, and the fact of its having preserved its original name gives a clue, as in so many parallel cases, to the older form of the name now borne by the village. The local pandits would derive the word *Phálen* from the verb *phárna*, "to tear in pieces," with a reference to the fate of Pahlád's impious father, Hiranya-Kasipu: but such a formation would be contrary both to rule and to experience, and the word is beyond a doubt a corruption of Pahláda-gráma. Thus: 1st, the *r* in the compounds *pr* and *gr* is elided by Vararuchi's sūtra, *Sarvatra lava-rám*, III, 3, as in *kos* for *kros*; 2ndly, the *d* in *láda* is elided by Vararuchi II, 2, as in *pau* for *pada*; 3rdly, the initial *g* of *gáma* is elided by a further application of the last quoted rule; 4thly, the *m* in *gám* becomes *v*, these two letters being ordinarily interchangeable, thus *dhímar* = *dhívar*; *Bhamáni Bhaváni*; *gauna* = *gamana*; and 5thly, a nasal is inserted, which can always be done at pleasure. The result is Pahlau-aunw, from which to Phálan or Phálen is a transition so easy as to be almost a phonetic necessity.

Arriving at the village about an hour before sunset I found a crowd of some 5000 people closely packed in the narrow space on the margin of the pond and swarming over the tops of the houses and the branches of all the trees in the neighbourhood. A large bonfire had been stacked half-way between the pond and a little shrine dedicated to Pahlád, inside which the Khera-pat, or Pánda, who was to take the chief part in the performance of the day, was sitting telling his beads. At 6 p. m. the pile was lit and being composed of the most inflammable materials at once burst into such a tremendous blaze that I felt myself scorching, though the little hillock where I was seated was a good many yards away. However, the lads of the village kept on running close round it, jumping and dancing and brandishing their *lúthis*, while the Pánda went down and dipped in the pond and then, with his dripping *pagri* and *dhuti* on, ran back and made a feint of passing through the fire. In reality he only jumped over the outermost verge of the smouldering ashes and then dashed into his cell again, much to the dissatisfaction of the spectators, who say that the former incumbent used to do it much more thoroughly. If on the next recurrence of the festival, the Pánda shews himself equally timid, the village proprietors threaten to eject him, as an impostor, from the land which he holds rent-free simply on the score of his being fire-proof.

*Feb. 28th, Kosi.*—After sitting a little while at a *nach* of the ordinary character given by one of the principal traders in the town, I went on to see the *chaupáis*, or more special Holi performances, got up by the different bodies of Ját zamindárs, each in their own quarter of the town. The dancers, exclusively men and boys, are all members of the proprietary clan and are all dressed alike in a very high-waisted full-skirted white robe, reaching to the ankles, called a *jhagá*, with a red *pagri*, in which is set at the back of the head a long tinsel plume, *Kalangi*, to represent the peacock feathers with which Krishna was wont to adorn himself as he rambled through the woods. The women stand at one end of the court-yard with their mantle drawn over their faces and holding long *lathis* with which at a later period of the proceedings they join in the Holi sports. Opposite them are the bands-men with drums, cymbals and timbrels and at their back other men with sticks and green twigs which they brandish about over their heads. The space in the middle is circled by torch-bearers and kept clear for the dancers, who are generally 6 in number, only one pair dancing at a time. Each performer, in the dress as above described, has a knife or dagger in his right hand and its scabbard in his left. At first darting forward they make a feint of thrusting at the women or other spectators and then pointing the knife to their own breast they whirl round and round, generally backwards, the pace growing faster and more furious and the clash of the band louder and louder till at last they sink down, with their flowing robe spread out all round them, in a sort of curtsey, and retire into the back ground to be succeeded by another pair of performers. After a pair of men comes a pair of boys, and so on alternately with very little variation in the action. Between the dances a verse or two of a song is sung, and at the end comes the *Holi khelna*. This is a very monotonous performance. The women stand in a line, their faces veiled, and each with a *lathi* ornamented with bands of metal and gaudy pendants, like the Bacchantes of old with the thyrsus, and an equal number of men oppose them at a few yards' interval. The latter advance slowly with a defiant air and continue shouting snatches of scurrilous song till they are close upon the women, who then thrust out their *lathis* and without uttering a word follow them as they turn their back and retreat to their original standing-place. Arrived there they let the women form again in line as they were at first and then again advance upon them, precisely as before, and so it goes on till their repertory of songs is exhausted or they have no voice left to sing them. To complete my description I here give some specimens of these *súkhis* or verses, and have added notes to all the words that seemed likely to require explanation. They are too coarse and at the same time too stupid to make it desirable for me to translate them.

## होली खेलनेके समयकी साखी ।

कान्हा धरे रे मुकट खेले होरी ।

एक ओर खेले कुंवर कन्हैया एक ओर राधा गोरी ॥१॥

इन गलियन काम कहा तेरो ।

इन गलियन मेरो स्यालू\* फासो में तो फाहंगी चार झगा† तेरो ॥२॥

खिसली तोहि देख अटाते ।

तू जु कहेहे तोहि अध्वर‡ लूंगो अब मेरी टूटी है बांह बरा‡ते ॥३॥

कब निकसेगो सूक्र॥ चले चालौ॥ ।

गोरीने डोला सजवायो रसियाने सिकल कसो भालो ॥४॥

जोरी\*\* मत करे मान राख देंउगी ।

रंग महल मेरो पलंग बिछयो है क्हां तेरो जोमा†डाट लेंउगी ॥ ५ ॥

संग सोयवेकी दोस‡ कही होती ।

माटी खोदन गई खदाने‡‡ क्हां मेरी बांह गही होती ॥ ६ ॥

नजर ठेरा॥॥ नजर ठेरा जंचे चोड़ै॥॥ पे चार ।

नजर ठेराय जंचे चोड़ैको॥॥ एक सुख देख्यो गाल अधर ले जाय ॥ ७ ॥

मोंह धोय आई गाल\*\*\* कटाइवे कू ॥ ८ ॥

\* *Syālu*, a woman's *dopatta*.

† *Jhagā*, a man's dress.

‡ *Adhbar*, in the middle.

§ *Barā*, an ornament worn by women on the elbow.

॥ *Suk*, the planet Venus, which is regarded as auspicious.

॥ *Chālan*, the same as the more common *gauna*.

\*\* *Jori*, for *zori*, *zabrdasti*.

†† *Jom*, lust, passion.

‡‡ *Dyans*, the day-time.

§§ *Khaāna*, a clay pit.

॥ ॥ *Therā*, fix, for *thahra*.

॥ ॥ *Chonda*, the knot of hair at the top of a woman's head.

\*\*\* *Gāl katāna*, to have the cheek kissed.



खाज मिटे तेरी ॥८॥

साथिन तेरो गोना कहिये ।

गोनेमेंका फूल बटे हैं आंख मीच सहजैये ॥१०॥

मगन बोलीरे चार मगन बोली वनमें पायो चार मगन बोली ।

बड़ेसे भोंगरा\*में पटक पकारी नारोंकी झटका खोली ॥ ११ ॥

*March 1st, Kosi.*—Spend an hour or two in the afternoon as a spectator of the Holi sports at the Gomati-Kund. Each of the 6 Ját villages of the Denda Pál§ has two or more *chaupáis*, which come up one after the other in a long procession, stopping at short intervals on the way to dance in the manner above described, but several at a time instead of in single pairs. One of the performers executed a *pas de seul* mounted on a *daf*, or large timbrel, which was supported on the shoulders of four other men of his troupe. Bands of Mummies (or *swángs*) were also to be seen, one set attired as Muhammadan fakirs; another (*gháyalon ká swáng*) as wounded warriors, painted with streaks, as it were of blood, and with sword-blades and daggers so bound on to their neck and arms and other parts of the body that they seemed to be transfixed by them. Some long iron rods were actually thrust through their protruded tongue and their cheeks, and in this ghastly guise and with drawn swords in their hands, with which they kept on dealing and parrying blows, the pair of combatants perambulated the crowd.

*March 2nd.*—At 2 p. m. ride over to Bathen for the Holanga mela, and find a place reserved for me on a raised terrace at the junction of four streets in the centre of the village. Every avenue was closely packed with the densest throng, and the house-tops seemed like gardens of flowers with the bright dresses of the women. Most of them were Ját by caste and wore their distinctive costume, a petticoat of coarse country stuff worked by their own hands with figures of birds, beasts and men of most grotesque design, and a mantle thickly sewn all over with discs of tale, which flash like mirrors in the sun and quite dazzle the sight. The performers in the *chaupái* could scarcely force their way through the crowd much less dance, but the noise of the band that followed close at their heels made up for all shortcomings. There was a great deal of singing, of a very vociferous and

\* *Bhaungara*, a thicket.

† *Nára*, a twisted string, *izar-band*.

‡ *Jhatak*, a knot.

§ Any subdivision of a Ját clan is called a *Pál*, and the town of Kosi is the centre of one such subdivision, which is known as the Denda Pál.

probably also a very licentious character ; but my ears were not offended, for in the general din it was impossible to distinguish a single word. Handfuls of red powder (*abír*) mixed with tiny particles of glistening tale were thrown about, up to the balconies above and down on the heads of the people below, and seen through this atmosphere of coloured cloud, the frantic gestures of the throng, their white clothes and faces all stained with red and yellow patches, and the great timbrels with bunches of peacocks' feathers, artificial flowers and tinsel stars stuck in their rim, borne above the players' heads, and now and again tossed up high in the air, combined to form a curious and picturesque spectacle. After the music came a *posse* of rustics each bearing a rough jagged branch of the prickly acacia, stripped of its leaves, and in their centre one man with a small yellow pennon on a long staff, yellow being the colour appropriate to the Spring season and the god of Love. The whole party slowly made its way through the village to an open plain outside, where the crowd assembled cannot have numbered less than 15,000. Here a circular arena was cleared and about a hundred of the Bathen Játñis were drawn up in a line, each with a long bambu in her hands, and confronting them an equal number of the bow-men who are all from the neighbouring village of Jau. A sham fight ensued, the women trying to beat down the thorny bushes and force their way to the flag. A man or two got a cut in the face, but the most perfect good humour prevailed, except when an outsider from some other village attempted to join in the play ; he was at once hustled out with kicks and blows that meant mischief. The women were backed up by their own husbands, who stood behind and encouraged them by word, but did not move a hand to strike. When it was all over, many of the spectators ran into the arena, and rolled over and over in the dust, or streaked themselves with it on the forehead, taking it as the dust hallowed by the feet of Krishna and the Gopís.

The forenoon had been devoted to the recitation of Hindi poems appropriate to the occasion. I was not on the spot in time enough to hear any of this, but with some difficulty I obtained for a few days the loan of the volume that was used, and have copied from it three short pieces. The actual MS. is of no greater antiquity than 1776 A. D., the colophon at the end, in the curious mixture of Sanskrit and Hindi affected by village pandits, standing thus :

Sambat 1852 Bhadrapad sudi 2 dwitiya, rabibar, likhitam idam pustakam, Sri Gopál Dás Charan-Pahári\*-madhye parhan árthi Sri Seva Dás Bári Bathain vási :

\* Charan-Pahári is the name of a small detached rock, of the same character as the Bharatpur range, that crops up above the ground in the village of Little Bathen.

but probably many successive copies have been made since the original was thumb'd to pieces. The first stanzas which are rather prettily worded, are, or at least profess to be, the composition of the famous blind poet Súr Dás.

## ॥ पद ॥

तेरी गति जानी न परै करुणामै हो ।

आगम अगम अगाधि अगोचर कैदबुधिविधिसचरै ॥

अति प्रचंड बल पौरिषता मै केहरि भूष मरै ।

अनाआस विन उद्दिम किछै अजगर पेट परै ॥

कवज्जक चन डूबत पानीमै कवज्जक सिला तिरै ।

वागरमै सागर करिडारै चज्जदिस नीर भरै ॥

रीते भरै भरे फिरि डारै मैहरि करै तौ फेरि भरै ।

पाहन बीच कमल परगासै जलमै अगिन जरै ॥

राजा रंक रंकतै राजा लै सिरकुच धरै ।

खर पतित तिरिजाय छिनकमै जौ प्रभु नैक ठरै ॥

## *Translation.*

“Thy ways are past knowing, full of compassion, Supreme Intelligence, unapproachable, unfathomable, beyond the cognizance of the senses, moving in fashion mysterious.

“A lion, most mighty in strength and courage, dies of hunger; a snake fills his belly without labour and without exertion.

“Now a straw sinks in the water, now a stone floats: he plants an ocean in the desert, a flood fills it all round.

“The empty is filled, the full is upset, by his grace it is filled again; the lotus blossoms from the rock and fire burns in the water.

“A king becomes a beggar and again a beggar a king, with umbrella over his head; even the guiltiest (says Súr Dás) in an instant is saved, if the Lord helps him the least.”

The second piece, in a somewhat similar strain, is by Dámodar Dás.

## ॥ पद ॥

अरे मन भजिलै नंदलला ।

ग्रह बांननमै रह्यौ किन कोऊ पकरत नाहि पला ॥

वेद पुरान संमृत यौ भाषौ याते नाहि भला ।

दिनदिन वढ़त प्रताप चौगुनौ जैसै चंद्रकला ॥

काकौ धन काकौ ग्रहसंपति काके सुतअवला ।

दामोदर ककु थिर न रहैगो जगमै चलीचला ॥

*Translation.*

“Come, my soul, adore Nand-lala (*i. e.* Krishna) whether living in the house or in the woods (*i. e.* whether a man of the world or a hermit) there is no other help to lay hold of.

“The Veda, the Puránas and the Law declare that nothing is better than this; every day honour increases four-fold, like the moon in its degrees.

“Who has wealth? who has house and fortune? who has son and wife? says Dámodar, nought will remain secure in the world, it is gone in a moment.”

The third piece, an encomium of the blooming Spring, is too simple to require any translation.

## राग वसंत ॥

नवल वसंत नवल वृंदावन नवलै फूलेफूल ।

नवलै कान्हू नवल सव गौपी निर्तत एकैद्वल ॥

नवलै साष जवादि कुमकुमा नवलै वसन अमूल ।

नवलै छीटवनीकेसरिकी सेटत मनमथसूल ॥

नवल गुलाल उड़ै रंगवूका नवल पवनके झूल ।

नवलहीं वाजे वाजै श्रीभट कालिंदीकै कूल ॥

The only divinities who are now popularly commemorated at the Holi Festival are Rádha, Krishna and Balaráma; but its connection with them can only be of modern date. The institution of the Ban-játra and the

Rás-lilá and all the local legends that they involve is traceable to one of the Brindaban Gosáins at the beginning of the 17th century A. D., *viz.* Náráyan Bhatt, a disciple of Krishan Dás, Brahmáchári, whom Sanátan, the leader of the Bengali Vaishnavas in Upper India, appointed the first Pujári of his temple of Madan Mohan. The fact, though studiously ignored by the Hindus of Mathurá, is distinctly stated in the *Bhakt-málá*, the work which they admit to be of paramount authority on such matters. But the scenes that I have described carry back the mind of the European spectator to a far earlier period and are clearly relics, perhaps the most unchanged that exist in any part of the world, of the primitive worship of the powers of nature on the return of Spring. Such were the old English merry-makings on May Day, and still more closely parallel the Phallic orgies of Imperial Rome as described by Juvenal. When I was listening to the din of the village band at Bathán, it appeared to be the very scene depicted in the lines—

Plangebant alie proceris tympana palmis,  
Aut tereti tenuis tininitus ære ciebant,  
Multis raucisonos efflabant cornua bombos,  
Barbaraque horribili stridebat tibia cantu.

Or again in the words of Catullus :

Leve tympanum remugit, cava cymbala recrepant,  
Ubi sacra saneta acutis ululatibus agitant,  
Quatiuntque terga tauri teneris cava digitis.

While the actors in the *chaupái*, with dagger in hand, recalled the pictures of the Corybantes or Phrygian priests of Cybele, the very persons to whom the poet refers. In Greece the Indian Holi found its equivalent in the Dionysia, when the phallus, the symbol of the fertility of nature, was borne in procession, as it now is here, and when it was thought a disgrace to remain sober. In like manner the Gosáins and other actors in the Indian show are quite as much inspired in their frenzied action by their copious preliminary libations as by the excitement of the scene and the barbarous music of the drums, cymbals and timbrels that accompany them.

*Mathurá, April 6th, 1877.*

#### POSTSCRIPT.

##### 1. *Recent Archæological Discoveries.*

Since my transfer from the district, the mound adjoining the Magistrate's Court-house, which has often been explored before with valuable results, has been completely levelled as a Famine relief work. A large number of miscellaneous sculptures have been discovered, of which I have received no definite description. But the more prominent object is a life-size statue of Buddha, which is said to be very finely executed and also in

excellent preservation, though unfortunately it has been broken into two pieces by a fracture just above the ankles. On the base is an inscription in Pali characters, of which a transcript has been sent me by a clever native draughtsman. I decypher it as follows :—

“Deyadharmāyam Sākya-bhikshu Yasa-dittasya. Yad atra punyam, tad bhavatu mātā-pitroh sukhā *rya páddhya yatam* cha sarvva-satv-ánuttara-jnána-váptaye.”

I have probably misread some of the letters printed in italics, for as they stand they yield no sense. (*Vide* Pl. XIX.) The remainder I translate as follows :

“This is the votive offering of the Buddhist monk Yasa-ditta. If there is any merit in it, may it work for the good of his father and mother and for the propagation of perfect knowledge throughout the world.”

In Sanskrit the primary meaning of *deya-dharma* is the duty of giving ; but in Páli it ordinarily stands for ‘the gift’ itself. The literal signification of the monk’s name Yasa-ditta is ‘Resplendent with glory’ ; *ditta* being the Páli, Prákrit, or Hindi form of the Sanskrit *dípta*, by a rule of Vararuchi’s, under which the example given is *sutta* (the modern *sotá*) for *supta*. *Vápti*, ‘the propagation’ is from the root *vap*, to sow ; from which also comes the Hindi word *báp*, ‘a father,’ like the Latin *sator*, from *sero*.

A second inscription of some length commences with the words *Mahá-rájasya Devaputrasya Huvishkasya Samvatsare 51 Hemanta masa 1 div.....* but I have not been able to read further, as the only transcript that I have received is a very imperfect one. A great number of fragmentary sculptures of different kinds have also, as I understand, been discovered, and some of them have been photographed for General Cunningham, who spent several days at Mathurá for the purpose of examining them. His account will doubtless appear in some future volume of his Archaeological Survey.

Since Gen. Cunningham’s visit a third inscribed slab has been found. A transcript has been made and sent me and a facsimile of it is herewith given. I have not yet succeeded in decyphering it. It begins with the word *siddham* ; then apparently followed the date, but unfortunately there is here a flaw in the stone. After the flaw is the word *etasya*.\* The second line begins with the word *Bhagavat*. In the third line is the name *Ma-*

\* The word following *etasya* begins with the letters *pu* the remainder being defaced, and was probably *purvaye*. This phrase *etasya purvaye* is of frequent occurrence in these inscriptions and is translated by Gen. Cunningham ‘on this very date’. I do not think it can bear such a meaning. It might be literally rendered ‘after this’ ; but it is really an expletive, like the Hindi *áge*, or occasionally the Sanskrit *tad-anantaram*, with which an Indian letter generally begins—after the stereotyped complimentary exordium—and which in the absence of full stops and capital letters serves to indicate a transition to a new subject.

*thurá*; at the end of the sixth line *mátapitroh*; in the middle of the seventh line *bhavatu sarva*.

## 2. *The Rádhá-sudhá-nidhi*.

The delay which has occurred in publishing these notes, enables me now to add a translation of the text of the Sanskrit poem of Hari Vans. It has been written at a considerable disadvantage, since here in Bulandshahr I am unable to consult the commentaries which I had borrowed at Mathurá. Even in this district there is, I find, at least one temple of the sect, at the town of Shikárpur.

### *Translation.*

1. Hail to the home of Vrisha-bhānu's daughter, by whom once and again even Madhu-Súdan—whose ways are scarce intelligible to the greatest sages—was made happy, as she playfully raised the border of her robe and fanned him with its delicious breeze.

2. Hail to the majesty of Vrisha-bhānu's daughter, the holy dust of whose lotus feet, beyond the conception of Brahma, Siva and the other gods, is altogether supernaturally glorious, and whose glance moistened with compassion is like a shower of the refined essence of all good things.

3. I call to mind the dust of the feet of Rádhiká, a powder of infinite virtue, that incontinently and at once reduces to subjection the great power, that was beyond the ken even of Brahma, Rudra, Sukadeva, Nárada, Bhíshma and the other divine personages.

4. I call to mind the dust of the feet of Rádhiká, which the noble milk-maids placed upon their head and so attained an honour much desired by the votaries of the god with the peacock crest, dust that like the cow of heaven yields the fullness of enjoyment to all who worship with rapturous emotion.

5. Glory to the goddess of the bower, who with an embrace the quintessence of heavenly bliss, like a bountiful wave of ambrosia, sprinkled and restored to life the son of Nanda, swooning under the stroke of Love's thousand arrows.

6. When will there visit us that essence of the ocean of delight, the face of Rádhá, with sweet coy glances, bewildering us with the brilliancy of ever twinkling sportive play, a store-house of every element of embodied sweetness!

7. When shall I become the handmaid to sweep the court-yard of the bower of love for the all-blissful daughter of Vrisha-bhānu, among whose servants oft and again every day are heard the soft tones of the peacock-crested god?

8. O my soul, leave at a distance all the host of the great and affectionately hie to the woods of Brindaban; here Rádhá's name is as a flood



of nectar on the soul for the beatification of the pious, a store-house of all that is divine.

9. When shall I hear the voice of blessed Rádhá, that fountain of delights, crying 'Nay, nay,' with knitted brows, as some gallant suitor, fallen at her feet, begs for the rapturous joy of her embrace?

10. When, oh when will Rádhiká shew me favour, that incarnation of the fullness of the ocean of perfect love, the marvellous glory of the glistening splendour of whose lotus feet was seen among the herdsmen's wives?

11. When shall I attain to the blissful vision of the goddess of the blooming bowers of the woods of Brindaban, her eyes all tremulous with love, and the different members of her body like the waves of an overflowing ocean of delight?

12. O queen of Brindaban, I betake me to thy lotus feet, fraught with the honeyed flood of love's ambrosia, which, planted in Madhu-pati's heart, assuaged by their grateful coolness the fierce fever of desire.

13. Fain would my soul loiter in the woods sacred to Rádhá's loves, where the sprays of the creepers have been plucked by Rádhá's hands, where the fragrant soil blossoms with Rádhá's footprints, and where the frequent birds are madly garrulous with Rádhá's praises.

14. When, O daughter of Vrisha-bhānu, shall I experience the conceit induced by excess of voluptuous dalliance, I your handmaid, charged with the message, 'Come and enjoy Krishna's dainties,' and answered with the smile, 'Only stay, friend, till night comes.'

15. Ah! when shall I behold Rádhá, with downcast eyes, bashfully stealing a distant glance at the moon-like orb of the face of the lord of lovers, as she trips with twinkling feet, all graceful in her movements, to the music of her own bangles?

16. When, O Rádhá, will you fall asleep, while my hands caress your feet, after I have tenderly bathed you and fed you with sweet things, wearied with your vigil through a night of dalliance, in the inmost bower, in the delicious embrace of your paragon of lovers?

17. O that the ocean of wit, the singular ocean of love's delights, the ocean of tenderness, the ocean of exuberant pitifulness, the ocean of loveliness, the ocean of ambrosial beauty and grace, the ocean of wantonness, blessed Rádhiká, would manifest herself in my soul!

18. O that the daughter of Vrisha-bhānu, looking up all tremulous and glistening in every limb like the flowering *champa*, would clasp me in her arms, charmed by my chanted praises of Syām-sundar, as she listens for the sound of his pipe!

19. Blessed Rádhiká, cool me with the multiplicity of love, that breathes in the swan-like melody of the girdle that binds your loins red-

dened with dalliance, and in the tinkling of the bangles, like the buzzing of bees, clustered round your sweet lotus feet.

20. Blessed Rádhiká, wreathed with the surge of a Ganges wave of heavenly dalliance, with lovely lotus face and navel as a whirl in the stream, hastening on to the confluence with Krishna, that ocean of sweetness, draw near to me.

21. When, O blessed Rádhiká, shall I rest upon my head your lotus feet, Govinda's life and all, that ever rain down upon the faithful abundant torrents of the honeyed flood of the ocean of perfect love?

22. When, O Rádhá, stately as an elephant in gait, shall I accompany you to the bower of assignation, to shew the way, bearing divinely sweet sandal wood, and perfumes and spices, as you march in the excitement of love's rapture?

23. When, O blessed Rádhá, having gone to some secluded slope of the Jamuná and there rubbing with fragrant unguents your ambrosial limbs, the very life of Love, when shall I see your prince of lusty swains, with longing eyes, mounted on some high *kadamb* tree?

24. When, O blessed Rádhiká, shall I behold your heavenly face, clustered—as if with bees—with wanton curls, like some lotus blossoming in a lake of purest love, or a moon swelling an ocean of enjoyment, an ocean of delight.

25. Ah! the name of Rádhá, perfection of loveliness, perfection of delight, sole perfection of happiness, perfection of pity, perfection of honeyed beauty and grace, perfection of wit, perfection of the rapturous joys of love, perfection of all the most perfect that my soul can conceive!

170. O ye wise, if there be any one desirous of marvellous happiness, let him fill the pitcher of his ears and drink in this panegyric, called the *Rasa-sudhá-nidhi*, or 'Treasury of Love's delights.'

*Buland-shahr, April 15th, 1878.*

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*The Song of Mánik Chandra.*—By G. A. GRIERSON, C. S.

### Introduction.

In my notes on the Rangpur dialect, I promised to give an account of the song whose name heads this article, and that promise I shall now do my best to redeem. I find, however, that the task has been more difficult than I anticipated. I do not doubt but that king Mánik Chandra, and his terrible wife did once exist; but the traditions current concerning him run so counter to ascertained history, that I have been able to discover very few grains of truth amongst the legendary chaff that has accumulated about his name.

To begin with; the first name we meet with is a crux. Mánik Chandra's brother was a *Pála* king.

Mánik Chandra himself was certainly not a *Pála*, for he was a *baniyá* by caste, while Abul-Fazl describes the *Pálas* as *Kayasthas*.\* Moreover, I know of no dynasty of *Pála* kings, containing names ending in "Chandra," like Mánik Chandra, Gopí Chandra, or Bhava Chandra. The brother's name was Dharma Pál.

The following account has been drawn from various sources. I have consulted BUCHANAN throughout, and wherever his story differs from mine in important particulars I have recorded the points of disagreement.

\* Cf. however, Mr. Westmacott's article on the *Pál* Kings, in Vol. LIX of the *Calcutta Review*, on which I have drawn freely, and gratefully, while treating on the present subject.

In the *Dimlá Tháná* situated to the north-west of Rangpur, and nine or ten miles to the south-east of the sub-divisional head quarters of *Bágh-dokará* is the city of Dharma Pál. Buchanan thus describes it—"It is in the form of a parallelogram, rather less than a mile from north to south, and half a mile from east to west. The following sketch (Fig. 1) taken in riding round it, will enable the reader more easily to understand it than my account.\* The defences consist of a high rampart of earth, which at the south-east corner is irregular, and retires back to leave a space that is much elevated, and is said to have been the house of the Rájá's minister (*Dírán-khána*). On the east side I observed no traces of a ditch, nor gate; but a ditch about 40 feet wide surrounds the other three faces.† In the centre of each of these is a gate defended by outworks, and in these are a good many bricks. At each angle of the fort has been a small square projection, like a sort of bastion, extending however only across the counter-scarp to the ditch; and between each gate and the bastion at the corner are some others of similar construction. The earth from the ditch has been thrown outwards, and forms a slope without a covered way. At the distance of about 150 yards from the ditch of the north-east and south sides, are parallel ramparts and ditches, which enclose an outer city, where it is said the lower populace resided. Beyond these on the south is another enclosure, in which it is said the horses were kept. Parallel to the west side of the city, at about the distance of 150 yards, runs a fine road very much raised; but its ends have been swept away by changes that have taken place in the rivers."

To the west of this city at a distance of two miles, was the city of Mánik Chandra, now, however, called, after his more famous wife *Mayaná Matir kot*.‡

Here Mánik Chandra reigned over the half dozen square miles of territory which constituted him a *rájádhirája*. His wife Mayaná was deeply skilled in magic, an art which it appears in those days, though unlawful for a man, was lawful for a woman.§ She was (so says the legend) the pupil of a mighty magician who by his intense devotion to and abstraction into the Holy Name had acquired immense powers. His mere word was sufficient to strike one dead. He could cause the sea to cease to move,

\* The plan given is Buchanan's, and is very fairly accurate. The city is noted for containing within the inner walls three remarkably fine tanks.

† The ditch and rampart are called in Rangpur the *Kot* (कोट अर्थात् बड़ स्थान बापिया स्ट्रिक्कार दृष्ट एकाटा गड़) G. A. G.

‡ *सयना सतिर कोट*. This lady is said to have founded several other important towns. Amongst names which still survive I may mention *Mayaná talir hál* (सयना तलीर हाट) and *Mayaná Gudí* (सयना गुड़ी)

§ See verse 60 of the poem.

and the lights in his dwelling burnt with surpassing splendour, though only fed with Ganges water.

Now this man was a sweeper.

### The Ha'di Siddha.

He was a *Hādi*, the caste which acts as sweeper in Bangál. In Rangpur its impurity signifies nameless abomination, a fact which should be specially noted. Rangpur forms part of Kámarúpa. Hither one of the five *Pandavas* never set his foot, and the land is consequently impure. Its men are not as other men, nor its laws as other laws. It has a special code of its own, most of which can be found in the *Yoginí Tantra*; and this law allows many things (such as certain kinds of flesh eating) to its strictest sects of Bráhmans. Hence impurity in Western India frequently becomes purity in Rangpur; while Rangpur impurity includes things simply inconceivable in *Arya varta*.

The Hādi of the poem, and of the popular legends of the present day was a *Vaishnava*; and as Mayaná was also of the same sect (in which the members are practically all of one caste) it is not impossible that she should have had such a man for her Guru.

I say only "not impossible," for I consider it highly improbable, and for the following reasons:—It is evident that the true story has been much transformed in its passage from mouth to mouth, and I believe that the principle recasting (if I may call it so) was due to the influence of the *Vaishnava* followers of Chaitanya. Translated into common English the story is that Mayaná's chaplain was a man of remarkable sanctity, whom the populace credited with supernatural powers. He was a great saint, and his religion followed that of his historians. The *Yogis* who narrate his history are at the present day followers of the teachers of the religion of Vishnu (not, be it observed, the popular *Vaishnavas*, *vulgo Boishṭoms*); and they naturally claimed their hero as belonging to their own sect. It is peculiarly the tendency of this beautiful, almost Christian, religion to preach the doctrine of the equality of castes;—how every valley shall be exalted, and the rough places made smooth. The lowest amongst the low,—the despised and rejected amongst men, is fully capable of attaining equal holiness with the strictest Bráhman of the holiest sect which worships at the shrines of *Vrindāvana*. Such being the case, what is more natural than that the ignorant and illiterate members of the same religion, who (like the *Yogis*) have the traditions of a missionary priesthood in their family, should instinctively point out how even an abominable Hādi can attain the terrible powers which their fathers attributed to a *Vaishṭha* or to a *Durvasa*.

But, now that I have shown that it is quite possible for such an idea to have arisen, I would point out that the man who is now called the

Háđi Siddha cannot have been originally a *Vaishṇava* at all, and was never by caste a Háđi. He is still occasionally addressed as Haripa (not Háđipa, or Háripa), which is quite a possible name for a follower of Hari; but on going back even so short a space as the first decade of the present century, we find that Dr. Buchanan, whose powers of observation are unquestioned, describes the Guru of Mayaná Mati as a *Yogí* by caste, whose name was Haripa while he never once mentions the fact of his being Háđi, which is now much the commoner name. Now in the Rangpur dialect, *a* is frequently lengthened, and *r* is interchangeable with *ḍ* so that the change from *Hari* to *Háđi* is easy, and such a change, having once taken common currency, would have itself suggested the idea so peculiarly *Vaishṇava* to which I have before alluded. (Cf. Max Muller's lectures on the science of language, for evidence as to the tendency of false etymology and of phonetic decay in originating popular legends.) This Haripa, according to Buchanan was the pupil of Kanipa,\* who was the pupil of Gorakshanáth. Tháná Āimlā, where these *Yogís* live, is close to Nipál, and we must go there to find out who Gorakshanáth is. I am now writing in Supaul, in the north of Bhágulpur, and not twenty miles from the Nipál frontier; and what I have heard about him here, confirms in a remarkable degree what Buchanan tells of him. The dwellers of the low lands will have nought of him, and we do not find his *cultus* till we reach the half savage Buddhist dwellers of the interior. Here we discover a curious mixture of the *Mahá Bhárata* and Buddhism. They say that during Yudhishtíra's journey through the pathless tracts of the Himálaya to heaven, his brethren (as we know) fell behind, one by one, and perished miserably. Here, adds the Nipáli, only one survived,—the club-bearing Bhíma. He was saved by a Buddhist saint called Gorakshanáth who after performing many wondrous acts made him king over Nipál.†

\* I know of no religious teacher called Kanipa. There was a Kanapa, who was a teacher of the *Jamgama* sect of the S'aivas, (Mackenzie *apud* Wilson I. 227), who was of some celebrity, and it is just possible that his name may have been adopted by the *Yogís*, who were originally a Saiva caste.

† The above is the popular tradition I have gathered from oral accounts. The following summary of what is noticeable about Gorakshanáth and the *Yogís* is gathered principally from Wilson.

The first teacher of Buddhism in Nipál, was Manju, who came from Maháchín and who made the valley of Khatmáñđu, formerly a lake, habitable by cutting through the mountains with his scymitar. He taught a pure form of Buddhism, which became afterwards impregnated with Bráhmānical ideas through the invitation given by Narendra Deva, king of Nipál, to one Matsyendra Náth a teacher of the *Pásúpata* form of the S'aiva religion. This was apparently about the 7th century A. D. This Matsyendra was in reality the Lokes'vara Padmapáni, who descended to the earth by command of the Áđi Buddha, and hid himself in the belly of a fish, in order to overhear S'iva teach Párvatí the doctrine of the *Yoga*, and Wilson shows that Padmapáni came either from the east or from the north of Bangál.



It is quite natural that the Buddhists should claim him as their saint, but in reality he was nothing of the sort. He was a teacher of the *Saiva* religion, and one of the reputed founders of the sect of *Yogís*. Whether the *Yogís* of Rangpur are an off-shoot of the Nipálí converts, or whether Gorakshanáth and his fellows came from north-eastern Bangál, or from Asám, where the *Pásupata cultus*, whose followers finally became *Yogís*, was established I cannot pretend to decide. I am inclined to believe in the former hypothesis, for they themselves have a tradition, that *they came from the west*, having formerly been pupils of Sankaráchárya, who were expelled by him for indulging in spirituous liquor. Besides, they reject, to the present day, the authority of Bráhmans, and have their own priests; and this is just what would be expected from people coming from Buddhist Nipál. They rose too to power under a dynasty of Pálas, most of the members of which family were Buddhists. Be that as it may, this much however is certain, that at the time of Mánik Chandra, the *Yogís* practised a *Saiva* religion and worshipped a deified teacher of their sect, also worshipped in Nipál, named Gorakshanáth. Gorakshanáth moreover, had already supplanted Siva himself, and was alone worshipped by his followers.

The poem annexed bears abundant witness to this. At every *Nodus* whether *Vindice dignus* or not, he is brought in as a *deus ex machina*;

Sixth in descent from Matsyendra Náth, in the time of spiritual teachers, comes Goraksha Náth, who, according to this, ought to have flourished in the 8th century. There must however be some mistake here, for it is known that Goraksha Náth was a contemporary of Kabír, and held a controversy with him which is extant (*Gorakh Náth ki Goshthí*, W. I. 213), and Kabír lived in the 15th century. Hence, unless the list of teachers in the *Haṭha Pradīpa* (W. I. 214) is incorrect, Matsyendra Náth must have lived at a much later period than that tentatively assigned to him by Wilson. Another Narendra Deva reigned in Nipál in the 12th century, and it is possible that it is he who introduced Matsyendra Náth, in which case the discrepancy would not be so outrageous. But, here another difficulty arises, we find that we must date Goraksha Náth's pupils' pupil as flourishing in the 14th century, a fact which agrees better with the theory of Narendra Deva II; but then, what becomes of Kabír?

We have seen that Matsyendra Náth taught *Pásupata Saivism*, and it is a well known fact that the *Kānpahāṭī Yogís*, to which sect those who sing the *Mánik Chandra* song belong, are the representatives at the present day of that form of religion. The above account in no way tallies with the tradition mentioned later on, in the text, that the *Yogís* were errant pupils of Sankaráchárya, nor is such a story borne out by the *Sankara Vijaya*. In chapter 41, Sankara successfully combats the *Yoga* doctrine, but he treats his opponents with a respect which he would never extend to backsliding disciples (S. V. c. 41. Bibl. Indica, Ed. p. 198).

That the *Yogís* rapidly became an important sect is evident from the numerous temples dedicated to Goraksha Náth, not only in Nipál but in the Panjáb and North West Provinces. We read that the Emperor Akbar consorted with them. He was initiated into their learning, and, on one occasion, ate with them, at one of their festivals,

not as an ordinary saint, but leading the whole Hindú Pantheon, and the characters of the Mahábhárata to boot. It is Gorakshanáth, and not Siva, who grants a boon, or comforts a sorrowing widow on her husband's funeral pyre. As he is considered in Nipál, so he is here, a saint whose austerities have rendered him not only an omnipotent but The Omnipotent, and who has always been proof against the charms of the most wanton Apsarases ever sent for a holy man's seduction by a terrified *Scarga*. We are bound therefore to assume that the guru of the Lady Mayaná, whatever his name was, and whom for the sake of simplicity we can call the Siddha was a *Yogi*, i. e. a *Saiva* by religion, and professed doctrines which were professed also by semi-Buddhist races in Nipál.

As this introduction relates to the Mánik Chandra poem, I shall, now that I have stated my opinion concerning his identity, for the future call him as he is called in the modern edition of the poem, the Hádi Siddha.

### Dharma Pa'la.

The Hádi Siddha was, as I have already said, of great power, but his pupil Mayaná, by dint of continued practice of her magic art, became greater still. She could control everything but fate; and the whole of the poem is nothing but a description of her struggles with that resistless passive energy.

According to universal tradition both in Buchanan's time, and at the present day, her husband, Mánik Chandra was brother of Dharma Pála. This I have before shown, is an impossibility if the names are correct.

In order to obtain an approximate date for Dharma Pála it is necessary to consider two lists of dynasties. They are now-a-days the traditional history, and they agree with Buchanan's account. The following are those I have collected :

1. Dharma Pála.
2. Mánik Chandra (his brother; died early).
3. Gopí Chandra.
4. Bhava Chandra.
5. A Pála Rájá. Name unknown.
6. Here Buchanan reasonably suggests a period of anarchy.
7. Níla Dhvaja.
9. Chakra Dhvaja.
10. Nílámbara.

According to Buchanan, Nílámbara was defeated by Husain Sháh about the year 1500 A. D.; and thus, allowing six reigns to a century, (a moderate estimate), we must date Dharma Pál as having flourished

about the year 1350 A. D. ; he certainly (if he ever existed, and if the dynasty lists are true) cannot have lived much before the commencement of the 14th century, *i. e.*, before our English King Edward III.

Abul-Fazl gives a list of ten Pála Kings quoted by Mr. Westmacott; and they became extinct about the middle of the eleventh century thus leaving a space of 250 years to be accounted for. Hence it need not necessarily be determined that Dharma Rájá was a member of the great family of Pála Kings. Buchanan suggests that he may have represented the remains of a family which survived the wreck of the dynasty, to save a portion of the kingdom which remained unconquered, by the successors of Adi Súra in Rangpur; and the fact is not rendered less improbable when we consider the history of the Háqi Siddha. We know that the Pála kings were, when we first meet them, Buddhists and that subsequently some branches of the family changed their religion to some one or other of the many varying sects of Hindúism. If then Dharma Pála ruled in a country in which such a holy man was arch-priest, it is rather a confirmation than otherwise of this theory. I myself think it certain that Dharma Pála was a member, or descendant of the great Pála family, for Dr. Buchanan gives an illustration of an image found in his city, which contains the typical Pála emblem of an elephant borne down by a lion. (Fig. 2.)

We thus I think can be certain of the following facts,—that early in the 14th century a king named Dharma Pála ruled over a small tract of country near the Karatoyá river in the present districts of Rangpur and Jalpaiguri. That this Dharma Pála was a member of the great Pála family which once ruled over northern *Banga*. That in his territory there was a saint of considerable sanctity, then living, who professed tenets borrowed possibly from Nipál. And that close to his capital city there lived in a fortified stronghold a powerful chief named Mánik Chandra, who was married to a lady called Mayaná. It may be gathered from local tradition that Mayaná was an ambitious and designing woman, and that she acknowledged the saint above-named as her spiritual instructor.

Between the king and the chief, according to local tradition, a war arose, which ended in the defeat and disappearance of the former, and triumph of the latter, in a great battle fought on the banks of the river Hángrigosha. The battle-field is still shown, a mile or so to the north of Dharmapur.

### Ma'nik Chandra.

After this victory, Mánik Chandra took up his residence at Dharmapur, while the Lady Mayaná remained at her old home *Mayaná Matir koṭ*

probably to be near her old Guru, the ruins of whose home are still shown in the neighbourhood.

The further particulars regarding Mánik Chandra will be gathered from the annexed poem. Who he was we cannot tell, we must be content with knowing that he was a neighbouring chief of Dharma Pála and his conqueror.

He appears to have governed at first with vigour and success. We read of rustic wealth and security, and light taxation. The revenue system is worth noticing, it was a peculiarly elastic and simple land tax.\* The land in those days was little more than a wild forest, and the soil poor and barely cultivated. The sparse *prajás* scraped with their flimsy ploughs the surface of the sandy soil immediately round their homestead and struggled lazily for bare existence. I suspect that, even in king Mánik's time, life and property were not over secure, and under these circumstances it was necessary that the taxes should be light. Each plough-owner was therefore required to pay for each plough in his homestead thirty *káoris* per mensem.† Under the light taxation which may be inferred from this absurd exaggeration of the text, the *prajás* were necessarily happy and contented, until Mánik Chandra did what was in Rangpur the most unpopular thing a zamíndár could do. He engaged a Bangálí Diván. I have in my previous paper enlarged on the hatred of the Rangpurí peasantry for a genuine freshly imported native of the south, and I need not dwell upon it here. Suffice it to say that the new Diván fully bore out the character of his nation, for he immediately doubled the land-tax. The result was a rising of the peasants, and according to their account, the mysterious death of the king shortly afterwards from the effects of Rangpur fever. He left no living child, but his wife Mayaná was subsequently confined of a posthumous one. The child was not born till eighteen months after Mánik's death,—and ill-natured people might feel inclined to consider Mánik Chandra's claim to the title of father not proved; but the poem chivalrously comes to the rescue of Mayaná's reputation, and makes her pass through a long series of puerile adventures (the old tale of Orpheus and Eurydiké with the characters reversed), and finally obtain from Gorakshanáth, and his attendant gods, the boon of having a son of such perfect vigour and

\* The same system prevails to the present day in parts of Nipál, where the demand for land is not so great as it is in the more settled British territory. A plough is there, however, only considered as equivalent to eight *bigas*, the average rent for a plough of land being considerably below that current on this side of the frontier.

† The text says  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *buḍis* of *káoris*. A *buḍi* is five *gaulas* or twenty. One *buḍi* of *káoris* = a pice.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pice a month = 4 *ánás*, 6 pie, per year per plough. In the light soil of Rangpur, one plough can easily cultivate fifteen *bigas* or five acres of land, so that the annual land-tax was, according to the text, less than  $3\frac{2}{3}$  pice per *biga*, or than a penny furthing per acre.

virtue that it would take at least twenty-five months to fashion him. As a matter of special grace he was presented to her with seven months of his growth already accomplished, so that he was in fact born only eighteen months after his conception.\*

During Mayaná's pregnancy she became *sati* for her dead husband, and mounted the pyre with his corpse. I need hardly say that the flames refused to touch her, although the relations of her late husband did their best to aid them, by thrusting her more and more into the flames with long poles.†

Mayaná after passing through various adventures survives them all, and in due time gives birth to a son, who is called Gopí Chandra. It is he who is really the hero of the poem, and not his putative father who gives it his name. All references to the latter end before the 154th verse, and the remaining 550 narrate the fortunes of his son.

Apparently from the birth of her child, Mayaná deserted Mayaná matir koṭ and went to dwell in Dharmapur. She was a clever woman and managed to keep up without great difficulty the high rates of land revenue, which had caused the death of her husband.‡ When Gopí Chandra was nine years old, it was time for him to be married, and so Mayaná looked round for a suitable match.

### Rāja' Hari's' Chandra.

At the present day, seven or eight miles south of the ruins of Dharmapur, in the tháná of Darvání, there is a village called Char Chará.§ Here there is a large mound of earth called Harís Chandra Rájár Pát, *i. e.*, the seat of king Harís Chandra.

Buchanan described it as a circular mound of earth about 40 feet in diameter. "In searching for materials to build a pig-stye, the heap was opened by an indigo-planter, and a building of stones was discovered. The

\* The Yogís of course see nothing extraordinary in this ludicrous idea. They say the events occurred in the *Satya Yuga*, when all things were possible. I asked a Yogí once why the child was presented to Mayaná already seven months developed, and he explained that it was "to prevent excessive scandal," which might have occurred if the child had been born twenty-five months after his father's death!! This is straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel with a vengeance.

† The description of this rite in the poem is curious enough: whether such conduct on the part of the relations was common in the performance of it I do not know. I have been unable to identify Chánd the merchant, who figures in this part of the poem with any other legend.

‡ I gather this from the last verse of the poem, from which it is evident that it was not till Gopí Chandra's return that the land revenue was reduced to its former level.

§ चर चरा, it is a short distance due east of the better known रामगञ्ज टुपानारि *Rámgañj Tūpānārī*.

upper parts of this, consisting of many long stones, were removed, when a friend of more science in antiquities, recommended the planter to abstain from further depredations. In its present state the lower part only of the building remains and is a cavity of about 13 feet square at the mouth, and 8 at the bottom. The sides are lined with squared stones, which form a deep stair on each side, and the walls are exceedingly thick. My description will be more easily understood by consulting the plan (fig. 3). I have no doubt that this is a tomb."

Since Buchanan's time it has been still further desecrated, and, now, little remains beyond the mound of earth and the name.

Hariś Chandra had two daughters Aduná and Paduná.\* These he gave in marriage to Gopí Chandra with a hundred maid-servants to wait upon them.† By his eighteenth year Gopí Chandra had no child. It had been foretold to Mayaná that at that age he would die unless he became a Sannyási.‡ So he prepared, much against his will, to go forth wandering in the forests with the Háḍi Siddha. His two wives Aduná and Paduná tried hard to persuade him to stay, and their arguments form, in my opinion, by far the best portion of the poem (vv. 243-302). They contain many touches of true poetry.

This flight of fancy, however, almost immediately leads us into the most unnatural—the profoundest bathos. The king tempted by his wives, in order to put the correctness of his mother's words to the test, makes her pass through the ordeal of boiling oil. Although the king has strength of mind to keep his mother in boiling oil for nine days, it is gratifying to learn that he really was a tender and affectionate son; for when he found at the expiration of that time that his mother had been boiled to death, he began to weep. Mayaná of course was really not dead, she had only changed herself into a grain of mustard seed, and soon reappeared in her proper form. After the usual preparations, the king sets out on his journey with the Háḍi Siddha. His minor adventures need not be recorded here. He passed through many trials as preparations for his future, and finally in an evil moment promised to let the Háḍi have twelve *káorís* wherewith to buy *gánjá*. When he would have given it, he found that the store from which he intended to take it had been spirited away. Thereupon, rather

\* In Buchanan, Hudna and Pudna.

† Buchanan says that Gopí Chandra had a hundred wives, but I can find no trace of this in any modern legend. The maid-servants may have been concubines, but not wives. They are the hundred damsels mentioned in verse 242. They are it is true called queens in verse 410,—but that is only part of the gross and puerile exaggeration displayed there, Aduná and Paduná being still kept separate.

‡ V. 241. The term Sannyási should be noticed. It is the ordinary term for a Saiva mendicant, Vairági usually representing a Vaishṇava one.

than break his promise, he told his companion to pawn him for the money. The Hádi took him at his word to the *bázár*, where all the women fell in love with him, which gives rise to an amusing scene. However they could not afford the twelve *káorís* demanded; so the Hádi finally took him to the house of a harlot named Hírá.

### Hírá' the Harlot.

According to popular tradition, Hírá is said to have lived at "Kholá Kuṭá a village in the west of the Dinájpur District." This place I have been unable to identify. Mr. Westmacott, who has most kindly taken much trouble in assisting me on this point, suggests that the place may be Kholá Hátí, a village in the east of that District, where the Dinájpur and Rangpur road crosses the river Karatoyá. There were lately extensive ruins to its north, but they have been excavated by the Northern Bengal Railway people for ballast. This theory is not at all so improbable as it might seem at first sight, for every tradition leads us to believe that Hírá's residence was near the Karatoyá. Dinájpur is to the west of Rangpur, and if the original belief was that Kholá Kuṭá (? Kholá Hátí) was "to the west in Dinájpur" the change for "in" to "of" need not surprise us. The locality of Hírá's house is not mentioned in the poem, but a reference to v. 658 will show that it probably was Kholá Hátí.

Hírá, of course, fell in love with the king, and, being a woman of property, easily found it in her power to borrow the twelve *káorís* from a neighbouring banker. The banker drew up the deed of transfer, conveying Gopí Chandra to the harlot's sole use and possession for a period of twelve years, and she then and there paid over the money, and took delivery. The procedure of the sale is worth noticing (vv. 537-546).

After obtaining possession of the king, Hírá had him bathed and adorned in gorgeous apparel; she then sent for him and tried to tempt him, but though she exerted all her fascinations, and the king was almost yielding, she failed ignominiously, Gopí Chandra piously remembering his mother's parting words.\* Indignant at her repulse the harlot went to the other extreme, and put him to perform the meanest and vilest offices of her household. The king was continually ill-used, and beaten, and one of his hardest daily labours, was carrying twelve *bhángí* loads of water from the Karatoyá to her house.

On the last day of the twelve years he went to draw water as usual,—but his strength failed him and he fell into the river.

\* Gopí Chandra is much lauded for his continence, but, as it appears that the Hádi before leaving him made him a neuter, there is really little ground for credit.



### The beginning of the end.

When the king left his home, his two queens retired from the outer world and shut themselves up in a well-guarded palace. The hundred concubines appear to have become the willing property of a foundling called Khetu, whom Mayaná had cherished and brought up together with her son. This man had subsequently entered Gopí Chandra's service, in the days of his power.

Aduná and Paduná set themselves to playing dice, for they knew that as long as lucky numbers were thrown, the king their husband was well.

The dice continued to fall prosperously until the king fell into the Karatóyá, and then they fell in disarray. A parrot and his mate beheld the tears of their mistresses, and consoling them, offered to go in search of Gopí Chandra.

After some days\* the birds found their master, and gave the message of his queens. The king, thereupon wrote a letter on the leaf of a wild plant which grew by, and sent it by them to his mother, who on receiving intelligence of her son summoned the Háđi, who in his turn went to the king.

The Háđi then proceeds to distribute poetical justice all round. All the woes which Hírí had inflicted upon Gopí Chandra, she is made to suffer herself. He then cut her in two, her upper half becoming a bat, and her lower half a minnow.

The Hárlot's maid-servant was cursed to become as her mistress had been, and in her old age to marry a peon, who would beat her every day of her life. Finally we have the fruit of all the king's penance in his being imbued with a knowledge of the magic art by his eating a filthy mess of the Háđi's concoction, and he returns home, still however wearing his pilgrim's weeds. His maid-servant was the first to see him, but she did not recognize him. His own wives wavered in their recognition when he denied his identity. The only being that did not hesitate, was his faithful elephant who made obeisance to him while he was yet afar off.

After the usual festivities Gopí Chandra again ascended the throne, and made his subjects happy by fixing the land revenue again at the old rate of thirty *káoris*.

### Concluding remarks.

Such is the epic of Rangpur, containing here and there a tiny pearl of interest, hidden amidst the rubbish, which is mainly presented to our view. I have ventured to write so much about it, and to submit it to the Society for three reasons.

\* There is considerable confusion here amid dates.

First, I believe that men more competent than I, may be able to add a little to the history of the Pála kings, after considering it. Second, because it exhibits a curious, and most instructive lesson as to how a purely Saiva hero celebrated by men of a Saiva sect has given rise to a poem of Saiva foundation, but of Vaishnava superstructure, and sung by the descendants of these same men. Nay more, how a distinctly Saiva sect, has become to all intents and purposes a Vaishnava one, while it still retains its old gods, and its old heroes. It would not be difficult to find parallel transformations in more modern religious history. Thirdly, and more for this reason than any other, because it is a very fair specimen of the peculiar Rangpurí *patois*. And here it may be noticed, that any parts purely and distinctly Vaishnava interpolations or additions (*e. g.* the introductory lines) are written in a Bengálí much more classical, than the rude language of the Saiva ground-work. This will be evident to any one who pays attention while reading.

The song is usually sung by four men,—and in parts, not in unison. I am not sufficiently acquainted with Hindu music to give the technical name of the chant. It certainly is the only song I have heard in this country in which harmony is introduced. The top notes of the chant are as follows:

*To be sung an octave lower than written.*



This is sung chant-like, so as to go once to each line, but leaving the three last notes without words. To these last three notes, the words "He! Rájá!" "He! Mayaná!" "He! Yame!" or some such apostrophe which depends on the person whose adventures are being immediately narrated, are sung as a sort of burden. An example will make this clear. Take the first line of verse six. It is sung thus—

*Svo Basso* .....

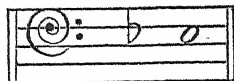


I do not give the harmonies of this, because I cannot. I tried to reproduce them on a harmonium, but though I believe I got the separate notes of each part correctly first on a violin, from the mouth of each

singer, when I tried them together I got nothing but a common-place sort of chant, containing one or two consecutive octaves, and not a particle of the spirit of what I had just heard sung. The above is the music of the narrative portion of the poem. Each "*ḍuyā*," has a separate melody of its own.

As the song is sung, the upper part is accompanied in unison on the *saringa*, of which an illustration, taken from Buchanan is appended.

(Fig. 4.) The open note is tuned to E flat



and the higher notes are formed by pressing down the wire on the various projecting knobs over which it passes.

In conclusion, as I stated in my former paper, the poem is in many places unintelligible to every body I have met. In such places (*satya yuger kathās*) the singers have sometimes traditional interpretations. In one or two cases, however, they do not profess even to such: and, I trust, that I may be pardoned under such circumstances for giving a literal translation, without attempting to educe sense out of the arrant nonsense thus arrived at.

## मानिक चन्द्र राजार गान ।

|                                             |    |
|---------------------------------------------|----|
| भाविओ रामेर नाम चिन्तिओ एक मने ।            |    |
| लइले रामेर नाम कि करिवे यमे ॥               | १  |
| अधमे ना नैल नाम जीभेर आलिसे ।               |    |
| अमृतेर भाण्ड तनु गरासिल विघे ॥              | २  |
| हेटे याइते ये जन रामेर नाम लय ।             |    |
| धनुक वान लैया राम भक्त सङ्गे याय ॥          | ३  |
| राम नामेर नौका खान श्रीगुरु काण्डारी ।      |    |
| दुइ वाज पसरिया डाके आस पार करि ॥            | ४  |
| रामेर वन्दन हइल मस्तक उपर ।                 |    |
| थुइया रामेर गुन सिद्धार गुन गाइ ।           |    |
| याके वन्दिलेइ सिद्धि पाइ ॥                  | ५  |
| मानिक चन्द्र राजा वङ्गे वड़ सति ।           |    |
| हाल खानाय मासड़ा साधे देड़ वुड़ि कड़ि ॥     | ६  |
| देड़ वुड़ि कड़ि लोके खाजना योगाय ।          |    |
| अरुमि पुजार दिने पांठा गोटे लय ॥            | ७  |
| खड़ीवेचा हैये ये खड़ी भार योगाय ।           |    |
| तार वदली क्य मास पाल खाय ॥                  | ८  |
| पातवेचा हैये ये पात आटि योगाय ।             |    |
| तारे वदली क्य मास पाल खाय ॥                 | ९  |
| ऐत मानिक चन्द्र राजा सरया नालेर वेड़ा ।     |    |
| एकतन येकतन कैरे ये खाइके तार दुयारत घोड़ा । |    |
| घिने वान्दि नाहि पिन्दे पाटेर पाकड़ा ॥      | १० |
| कारो माड़ाल केह ना याय                      |    |
| कारो मुष्कनीर जल केह ना खाय ॥               | ११ |

१ । यमे । The usual form for Nom. Sing. in Rangpurī. See my "Notes." Most of the irregular grammatical forms contained in this poem will be found therein, and hence I shall not usually draw attention to them here. ॥ १ । जीभेर आलिसे = जिह्वेर आलस्ये । गरासिल = घास करिल ॥ ४ । पसरिया = प्रसरिया । १० । एकतन येकतन = एसन येसन, अर्थात् येसन तेसन । घिने वान्दि = घृणा बान्दिया, अर्थात् घृणा करिया ॥

|                                                     |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----|
| भाटि हइते आइल वाङ्गाल लम्बा लम्बा दाड़ि ।           |    |
| सेइ वाङ्गाल आसिया मुलुकत् कैल कड़ी ॥                | १२ |
| आखिल देड़ वुड़ि खाजना लैल पोनार गण्डा ॥             | १३ |
| नाङ्गल वेचाय जोङ्गल वेचाय आरो वेचाय फाल ।           |    |
| खाजनार तापते वेचाय दुधेर काओयाल ॥                   | १४ |
| रांडी काङ्गाल दुःखिर वड़ दुष्क हइल ।                |    |
| खाने खाने तालुक सव कन हइया गेल ॥                    | १५ |
| कोट रायत उठे वले वड़ रायत भाइ ।                     |    |
| प्रधानेर वरावर सवे चल याइ ॥                         | १६ |
| कि आछा वले प्रधान सकल ।                             |    |
| येत रायत परामस करिया प्रधानेर वाड़ी वैले चैले गेल ॥ | १७ |
| केमन वुद्धि करि भाइ केमन समाचार ।                   |    |
| असति राजा हइल राज्येर भितर ॥                        | १८ |
| प्रधान वले रायत सकल ए वुद्धि नाइ आमार वरावर ।       |    |
| चल याइ सिवेर वरावर कि आछा वले बोला नहैश्वर ॥        | १९ |
| यत रायत परामस करिया गेल सिवेर वरावर ॥               | २० |
| सिव ठाकुर वैले तोले छाड़े राओ ।                     |    |
| घरे किल सिव ठाकुर बाहिरे दिले पाओ ॥                 | २१ |
| सिवके देखिया रायत जन करे परनाम ।                    |    |
| गले वस्त्र बान्धिया करे परनाम ॥                     | २२ |
| जीओ जीओ रायत धर्म देउक वर ।                         |    |
| यत गुटि सागरेर वाला एत आरिबल ॥                      | २३ |
| केने २ रायत सकल आइलेन कि कारन ॥                     | २४ |
| केमन वुद्धि करि केमन चरिचर ।                        |    |
| असति राजा हइल राज्येर भितर ॥                        | २५ |
| धेयाने वुड़ा सिव धेयान कैरे चाय ।                   |    |
| कय मासिर परमाइ राजार कपाले नागाल पाय ॥              | २६ |

१२। कैल = करिल ॥ १५। कन = उच्छिन्न ॥ १७। परामस = परामर्श ॥  
 १९। बोला = भोला ॥ २१। परनाम = प्रणाम ॥ २२। आरिबल = आयुर्वल ॥  
 २६। धेयाने = ध्यान । परमाइ = परमायुः । नागाल is connected with the dhātu  
 लग् ॥

मोर कथा कन यदि मयनार वरावर ।  
कैलाश भूवन मोर कैर्वे नगड भगड ॥ २७

एक सत्य दुइ सत्य तिन सत्य हरि ।  
तोमार कथा यदि कथों मच्चा पापे मरि ॥ २८  
येत रायत जन परामस करिया ।  
खीकलेर हाठत नागिया यान चलिया ॥ २९  
धूप सिन्दुर नेन पातिल भरिया ।  
ह्रांस कौतर नेन खाच्चा भरिया ॥ ३०  
धओला पांठा नेन रसी साइङ्ग करिया ।  
रविवार दिन निरा थाकिया पारनी गङ्गा यान चलिया ॥ ३१  
धम्मरे यान गङ्गा किनारे वान्धिया ।  
धओला पांठा देन वालु छेद करिया ॥ ३२  
ह्रांस कत गुला देन घाटे उकरगिया ।  
धूप सिन्दुर देन घाटे ज्वालाइया ॥ ३३  
अफिन्ना विन्नार थोप आने उपायिया ।  
नांठि चिपिया साप देन छाडिया ।  
ए साप निले अञ्चल पातिया ॥ ३४

रविवार दिन लोके सांओ दिल ।  
सोमवार दिन राजार ए ज्वरि करिल ॥ ३५  
मङ्गलवार दिन राजा काहिना पडिल ।  
बुधवारि राजा अन्न पानि छाडिल ॥ ३६  
विसुदवारि राजा ए गुरु छाडिल ।  
फिर मङ्गलवारि चित्र गोविन्द दफ्तर खुलिल ॥ ३७  
मानिक चन्द्र राजार क्यु मास परमाइ दफ्तर नागाइल पाइल ।  
वेन्ना मुख ह्येये समन राजाक वलिव र लागिल ॥ ३८

असति राजा हइल राज्येर भितर ।  
सेइ राजाक लैया आइस यमालयेर भितर ॥ ३९

२९। नागिया = लागिया ॥ ३१। निरा = निरशन(?) ॥ ३२। यान = स्थान ॥  
३४। साप = शप ॥ ३५। सांओ = शप ॥

आवाल यमके डाकिवार लागिल ।  
गोदा यमेर नामे चिठि हाओलात कैरे दिख ॥ ४०

तोक वलों गोदा यम वाक्य मोर धर ।  
हाते गले मानिक चन्द्र राजाक बान्धिया हाजिर कर ॥ ४१  
चामेर दड़ि लोहार डाङ्ग नैले गिरो दिया ।  
तखने गोदा यम चलिल हाठिया ॥ ४२  
कत दुरे येये गोदा कत पाछा पाय ।  
कतक याइते मानिक चन्द्र राजार वाड़ी पाय ॥ ४३  
कय मासेर काहिला राजा महलेर भितर ।  
तओत खबर नाहि करे मयना सुन्दर ॥ ४४

तोक वलों ये नेङ्गा पात्र वाक्य मोर धर ।  
एइ कथा जानाओ गिये मयनार वरावर ॥ ४५  
कय मासेर काहिला राजा महलेर भितर ।  
देखा कैरवार चाय राज राजेश्वर ॥ ४६  
ए कथा श्रुनिया नेङ्गा ना थाकिल रैया ।  
मयनार महले चलिल हांठिया ॥ ४७  
आग दुयारे मयना मति प्रसार खेलाय ।  
खिरकिर दुयारे दिया परनाम जानाय ॥ ४८  
केने केने नेङ्गा आइलेन कि कारन ॥ ४९

नेङ्गा वले सेन मा सेन समाचार ।  
कय मासेर काहिला राजा महलेर भितर ॥  
देखा कैरवार चाय राज राजेश्वर ॥ ५०  
धेयाने मयना मति धेयान कैरे चाय ।  
धेयानेर मध्ये यमेर नागाल पाय ॥ ५१  
आनिल बाङ्गला गुया मिठाभरि पान ।  
ये वाङ्गला गुया काटाइर दिया करे दुइ खान ॥ ५२  
पानेर वुके चुनेर नेओया दिया ।  
हेट खिलि उपर खिलि माइले तुलिया ॥ ५३



|                                          |    |
|------------------------------------------|----|
| शोल पुटि ज्ञान दिले खिलित भरिया ।        |    |
| पानेर वाटा वान्दिर माथाय दिया ॥          | ५४ |
| निकलिल मयना मति यात्रा करिया ।           |    |
| ऐ राजार महाले उत्तरिल गिया ॥             | ५५ |
| केने केने महाराजा डाकिले कि कारन ॥       | ५६ |
| हय माखेर काहिला राजा महलेर भितर ।        |    |
| तत्त खवर ना करेन मयना सुन्दर ॥           | ५७ |
| मयना वले सोन राजा राज राजेश्वर ।         |    |
| आमार सरीरेर ज्ञान नेओ वेल सिकिया ।       |    |
| आमार वसेर नदी कन्दे यावे सुखाइया ॥       | ५८ |
| आमार वयसे वड़ वृक्ष यावे मरिया ।         |    |
| दुइ जने राजा कि करिम घर जुयान हइया ॥     | ५९ |
| राजा वले सुन मयना वाक्य मोर धर ।         |    |
| एखनि मोर मानिक चन्द्र यमे लइया याउक ।    |    |
| ताहातेओ स्त्रीर ज्ञान गरवे ना सुनाउक ॥   | ६० |
| नारीर ज्ञान देखिया ज्ञाने करिल हेला ।    |    |
| ठिक दुपर भाड़ुया यम करिया गेल मेला ॥     | ६१ |
| मरन वसा मारिल तुलिया ।                   |    |
| जल जल वलिया राजा उठिल कान्दिया ॥         | ६२ |
| जल खेओओ खेओओ मयना सुन्दर ।               |    |
| एक भाड़ि जल दिया प्रान रक्षा कर ॥        | ६३ |
| एक सत रानी आके महलेर भितर ।              |    |
| तार हाते जल खाओ राज राजेश्वर ॥           | ६४ |
| एक सत रानीर हस्तेर जल आइस टानि गोन्दाय । |    |
| तोमार हाते जल खाइले वऊ भाग्य हय ॥        | ६५ |

एलाय यदि आमि याइ जलक नागिया ।  
ऐत भाडुया यम तोक लइया यावे वान्धिया ॥ ६६

राजा वले सुन मयना वाक्य मोर धर ।  
तैल पाठेर खाड़ा थोओ विहानात फेलाया ॥ ६७  
यखन आसिवे भाडुया यम दैत दानव हया ॥  
तैल पाठेर खाड़ा दिया फेलामु काटिया ॥ ६८  
येन मते मयना मति हस्ते भाड़ि लैल ।  
हांचि जिठि वाधा विस्तर पड़िल ॥ ६९  
येन घड़ि मयना मति चतुरार बाहिर हइल ।  
सात दिया सात जना गर्जिया सोन्दाइल ॥ ७०  
चामेर दड़ा दिया वान्धिल ।  
लोहार मुद्गर दिया डाङ्गाइवार लागिल ॥ ७१

के मारेन आमाक विस्तर करिया ।  
मयना मति गेहे जलक नागिया ।  
एक भाड़ि जल खांओ उदर भरिया ॥ ७२

तोर माइया पाइयाहे गोरकनाथेर वर ।  
नागाइल पाइले मयना ना करे कुसल ॥  
हाटुया पाड़ि किलाइवे आमाक वेलार दुपर ॥ ७३  
यमेर माइर सवार ना पारिया ।  
मयना चलिया राजा दिल जीउ छाड़िया ॥ ७४  
ऐ जीउ निले गोदा यम नांठित वान्धिया ।  
सात दिया सात जन गेल चलिया ॥ ७५

ऐत मयना गङ्गार तीरे गेल चलिया ॥  
मयना वले सुन गङ्गा वलि निवेदन ॥ ७६  
ये राजार पुजा खाइला ए वार वत्सर ।  
एक भाड़ि जल दिया प्रान रक्षा कर ॥ ७७  
एक भाड़ि वदलि वियाल्लीस भाड़ि लओ ।  
ताह्वाते धर्मि राजा जीउ वदला ओ ॥ ७८

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| कार वादे जल निया बाओ भाड़ि भरिया ।                    |    |
| सेत धर्मि राजाक गेल धरिया ॥                           | ७६ |
| एइ कथा सुनिया मयना रोदन करिवार नागिल ।                |    |
| लक्ष टाकार भाड़ि पाकाइया फेलिल ॥                      | ८० |
| चौद ताल जलेर मध्ये मयना आसन करिल ।                    |    |
| कपाले सिन्दुर मइलान देखिल ॥                           | ८१ |
| हातेर सांखा काल देखिल ।                               |    |
| लक्ष टाकार दुइ सुठ सांखा मस्तके भाङ्गिल ॥             | ८२ |
| स्यामि हारा हया रे । आर कत दिन रव चायारे ॥ धुया ॥     | ८३ |
| महलत लागिया मयना चलिल हाटिया ।                        |    |
| येन मयना मति मन्दीरे सोन्दाइल ॥                       |    |
| आग प्रदीप धाक प्रदीप लागाइया दिल ॥                    | ८४ |
| यमालय लागिया मयना चलिल हाटिया ।                       |    |
| नदीर पारे मयना मति गेल चलिआ ॥                         | ८५ |
| नदी देखिया मयना भयङ्कर हइल ।                          |    |
| कय मास ओसार नदी बकरत पड़े खेओया ।                     |    |
| एक एक छेउ उठे पर्वतेर चूड़ा ॥                         | ८६ |
| विधि आमार दुःखेर कपाल । येमन विन्दार गोपाल ॥          |    |
| भाङ्गा नौका छिड़ा काकि गुरु केमने हवे पाड़ ॥          |    |
| यदि आमार गुरु सहाय थाके ॥                             | ८७ |
| धरम हाइल धरे, भाङ्गा नौका छिड़ा काकि                  |    |
| गुरु लाइगाव किराने ॥ धुया ।                           | ८८ |
| परिधानेर साड़ी अर्द्ध खान मयना मती दिल जलत विक्काया । |    |
| योग आसन धरिल मयना धरम सरन करिया ॥                     | ८९ |
| तुड़ु तुड़ु करिया मयना ऊङ्कार काड़िल ।                |    |
| कय मासेर दरिया कय दखे पार हइल ॥                       | ९० |
| यमपुरि लागिया चलिल हाटिया ।                           |    |
| कजिस कुटि यम दरवार वसिके ॥                            | ९१ |

८३। स्यामि = खामी ॥ ८६। बकरत = बत्तरे ॥ ८८। किराने = کناری ॥  
 ८९। सरन = सरण ॥ ९०। दरिया = دریا ॥

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| येन मते मयना यमालय खाड़ा हइल ।         |     |
| भिता भिति यम पालावार लागिल ॥           | ९२  |
| यमपुरि याया मयना पातिल धुम ।           |     |
| कारो उठिल पेटेर विस कारो माथार धुम ॥   | ९३  |
| ओभा गुनिक हया विस भाड़िया नामाय ।      |     |
| औसध करिवार आले जन जन पालाय ॥           | ९४  |
| येन मते गोदा यम मयनाके देखिल ।         |     |
| आपनकार महुलक लागिया ए दौड़ करिल ॥      | ९५  |
| आपनकार महुले याया घरे नुकाइल ।         |     |
| ऐठे हइते मयना मति दिसा हारा हइल ॥      | ९६  |
| धेयाने मयना मति धेयान कैरे चाय ।       |     |
| धेयानेर मध्ये घरत लागाल पाय ॥          | ९७  |
| ओ रूप थुइल मयना एकतर करिया ।           |     |
| माइलानी रूप हइल सुरत वदलाइया ।         |     |
| गोदार महुले चलिल हांटिया ॥             | ९८  |
| गोदा गोदा वेलै मयना तुलिया छाड़े राओ । | ९९  |
| येन मते गोदा यम मयनाक देखिल ।          |     |
| टाटि भाड़िया गोदा यम ए दौड़ करिल ॥     | १०० |
| मार मार वलिया मयना नि याय पिठिया ।     |     |
| एक सत हालुया हाल वय निधुया पाथारे ॥    |     |
| हरिन वलिया यमक नि याय पिठिया ॥         | १०१ |
| ऐठे हइते गोदा यम दिसा हारा हइल ।       |     |
| इचला माक्क हइये दरियाय भाप दिल ॥       | १०२ |
| धेयाने मयना मति धेयान कैरे चाय ।       |     |
| धेयानेर मध्ये इचलार लागाल पाय ॥        | १०३ |
| तुडु तुडु करिया मयना ऊङ्गार छाड़िल ।   |     |
| वेयालिस भइस हइल सुरत वदलाइया ।         |     |
| ऐ दरिया भइस पड़िल भाम्प दिया ॥         | १०४ |
| खार खाइतेर यमक नि याय पिठिया ।         |     |
| मध्य दरियात यमक धरिल ठासिया ॥          | १०५ |

८४। ओभा = उपाधायस्य ॥ ९६। नुकाइल = लुकायित हइल ॥ ९८। एकतर = एकत्र । सुरत = मूर्ति ॥ ९९। राओ = रव ॥ १०१। नि = लइया ॥

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| ऐत गोदा यम आठिया वज्जर ।                              |     |
| डाइन पिड़ेर दख भाङ्गिया उठिया दिल लड़ ॥               | १०६ |
| ऐटे हइते गोदा यम दिसा हारा हइल ।                      |     |
| क्रेफलां मतस हइया जलत भासिवार लागिल ॥                 | १०७ |
| ओ रूप युइल मयना एकतर करिया ।                          |     |
| पानकाउड़ि वानोयार हइल सुरत वदलाइया ॥                  | १०८ |
| पाखार साठते नि बाय पिट्टिया                           |     |
| मध्य दरिया गोदा यमक धरिल ठोकाइया ॥                    | १०९ |
| ऐत गोदा यम आठिया वज्जर ।                              |     |
| ऐकेया फेलाइया मयनाक् दिल लहड़ ॥                       | ११० |
| ऐटे हइते गोदा यम कोन काम करिल ।                       |     |
| गचि मच्छ हया कादात मिसाइल ॥                           | १११ |
| ऐटे हइते मयना मति धेयान कैरे चाय ।                    |     |
| धेयानेर मध्ये कादात लागाल पाय ॥                       | ११२ |
| तुड़ु तुड़ु करिया मयना ऊङ्गार छाड़िल ।                |     |
| राजह्रांस हइया काद जारितेर गोदा यमक नि बाय पिट्टिया । |     |
| मध्य दरियात गोदा यमक धरिल ठासिया ॥                    | ११३ |
| ऐकेया फेलाया मयना मतिक पालाइल छाड़िया ।               |     |
| ओ रूप युइल गोदा यम एकतर करिया ॥                       | ११४ |
| घुगड़िर रूप हइल सुरत वदलाइया ।                        |     |
| पातालक लागिया गेल चलिया ॥                             | ११५ |
| पातालक याया मोचड़ाय यम दाड़ि ।                        |     |
| एखन कि चिनिवे मोक मयना मति साली ॥                     | ११६ |
| धेयाने मयना मति धेयान कैरे चाय ।                      |     |
| धेयानेर मध्ये मयना घुगड़िर लागाल पाय ॥                | ११७ |
| ओ रूप युइल मयना एकतर करिया ।                          |     |
| तेलङ्गा रूप हइल मयना सुरत वदलाइया ॥                   | ११८ |
| पाताल भुवनत नागिया गेल चलिया ।                        |     |
| ऐटे याया गोदा यमक धरिल ठासिया ।                       |     |
| दोनेक दोनेक करिया यमक उठाइल टानिया ॥                  | ११९ |

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| ओ रूप थुइल मयना एकतर करिया ।            |     |
| आपनार रूप हइल मुरत वदलाइया ॥            | १२० |
| उपर कैरे फेलेया यमक किलिवार लागिल ।     |     |
| किलाइते किलाइते हात हापसाइल ॥           |     |
| चितर करिया फेलाइया यमक नेदावार लागिल ॥  | १२१ |
| ऐत गोदा यम आठिया वज्जर ।                |     |
| घड़ानी कैतर हइये सर्गे उड़े गेल ॥       | १२२ |
| सिकिरा वाज हइल मयना मुरत वदलाइया ।      |     |
| आकास हइते गोदा यमक फेलाइल टालिया ॥      | १२३ |
| ऐटा हइते गोदा यम दिस हारा हइया ।        |     |
| सलेयार रूप हइल मुरत वदलाइया ॥           | १२४ |
| कठिया तेलीर वाड़ोक नागिया गेल चलिया ।   |     |
| कठिया तेलीर माचात थाकिल बसिया ॥         | १२५ |
| धेयाने मयना मती धेयान कैरे चाय ।        |     |
| धेयानेर मध्ये सलेयार नागाल पाय ॥        | १२६ |
| ओ रूप थुइल मयना एकतर करिया ।            |     |
| विलाइ रूप हइल मयना मुरत वदलाइया ॥       | १२७ |
| एक विलाइर वदली वियाखिस विलाइ हइया ।     |     |
| कठिया तेलीर घर लइल घेड़िया ॥            | १२८ |
| एक दण्ड दुइ दण्ड तिन दण्ड हइल ।         |     |
| सुवोधिया गोदा यमक कुवोधिया नागाल पाइल ॥ | १२९ |
| माचा हइते गोदा यमक मृत्तिकाय नामाइल ।   |     |
| टरकिया याया मयना मती गरदानात धरिल ॥     | १३० |
| ऐत गोदा यम आठिया वज्जर ।                |     |
| आङ्गलेर सान्दि दिया उठिया दिल लहड़ ॥    | १३१ |
| ओ रूप थुइल यम एकतर करिया ।              |     |
| वैष्णव रूप हइल यम मुरत वदलाइया ॥        | १३२ |
| काकड़ार माठिया लइल चन्दन करिया ।        |     |
| साइलेर फल लइल माला करिया ॥              | १३३ |
| एण्डार ठाल लइल आसा करिया ।              |     |
| सेवार वाड़ोक नागिया गेल चलिया ।         |     |

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| यत वैष्णवेर मध्यत रइल वसिया ॥               | १३४ |
| धेयाने मयना मती धेयान कैरे चाय ।            |     |
| धेयानेर मध्ये वैष्णवेर लागान पाय ॥          | १३५ |
| ओ रूप थुइल मयना एकतर करिया ।                |     |
| मौ माक्कि हइल मयना मुरत वदलाइया ॥           | १३६ |
| एक माक्किर वदली विथाखिस माक्कि हया ।        |     |
| सेवार वाडीक नागिया गेल चलिया ।              |     |
| यत वैष्णवेर माथार उपर वेड़ाय घुरिया ॥       | १३७ |
| वैष्णव सकल वले भाइ सोन समाचार ।             |     |
| कोन वैष्णव अपराधी आक्केन सभार माभ ॥         | १३८ |
| येन मते गोदा यम माक्कि देखिल ।              |     |
| वैष्णवेर केथार तलत् सन्दाइल ॥               | १३९ |
| येन मते मयना मति सन्दान देखिल ।             |     |
| उडाओ दिया यमेर घाड़त पड़िल ॥                | १४० |
| माक्किर कामड़ सइवार ना पारिया ।             |     |
| गोदा यम पालाइल क्काड़िया ॥                  | १४१ |
| माक्कि रूप थुइल मयना एकतर करिया ।           |     |
| आपनार रूप हइल मुरत वदलाइया ॥                | १४२ |
| ऐत गोदा यमक धरिल पिट्टिया ।                 |     |
| एक पांजा एलुया खेड़ आनिल उकड़िया ॥          | १४३ |
| वान पुटि कुचनि पाकाय तेपथीत वसिया ।         |     |
| मयनार कमड़े यमेर कमड़े वान्दने वान्दिया ।   |     |
| हातेर हेमतालोर लाठि दिया नि याय डाङ्गाइया ॥ | १४४ |
| मयना वले सुन यम वलि निवेदन ।                |     |
| आमार स्यामी धन देखो आर क्काड़िया ॥          | १४५ |
| तोमार स्यामी धन आमि ना दिव क्काड़िया ।      |     |
| ऐटे हइते मयना मति रोदन कैरते नागिल ॥        | १४६ |
| आमार पति नाइ घरे रे दीननाथ                  |     |
| आमि कार लक्षे रवरे नविन वसते ॥ धुया ॥       | १४७ |

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| रविवार दिना विवाह करिवार साजिल ॥                  | २३३ |
| पञ्च गाछि कलार गाछ हश्चिन्द्र राजार महलत गाड़िल । |     |
| सेनाली चालुन वाति तखनइ धराइल ॥                    | २३४ |
| पञ्च वैराती तखनइ आनिल डाक दिया ।                  |     |
| उलु उलु सब्द करिवार लागिल ॥                       | २३५ |
| अदुनाक दिया विवाह दिल पदुनाक दिल दाने ।           |     |
| एक सत वान्दी दिले व्यावहार कारने ॥                | २३६ |
| एक सत तालुक दिल दाने धरिया ।                      |     |
| एक सत हस्ति दिल दाने धरिया ॥                      | २३७ |
| एक सत घोड़ा दिल दाने धरिया ।                      |     |
| एक सत गावि दिल दाने धरिया ॥                       | २३८ |
| विवाह दिया राजाक विदाय दिल ।                      |     |
| तखनइ मयना मति यत राज्येर राजाक निमन्त्रन करिल ॥   | २३९ |
| सेइत धर्मि राजा गोपी चन्द्र पाट दिल ।             | २४० |
| आठार वरिसे गोपि चन्द्र राजा ।                     |     |
| वृद्ध मातार आचाय सन्यास हइये याय ॥                | २४१ |
| एक सत सुन्दरी कान्दे चरन धरिया ।                  |     |
| ऐत धर्मि राजा ना याओ क्वाड़िया ॥                  | २४२ |
| ना याइओ ना याइओ राजा दुर देसान्तर ।               |     |
| कारे लागिया वान्दिलाम सीतल मन्दीर घर ॥            | २४३ |
| वान्दिलाम वाङ्गला घर नाइ पाड़ काली ।              |     |
| एमन वयसे क्वाड़ि याओ आमार वधा गावुरानी ॥          | २४४ |
| निन्देर खपने राजा हव दरिसन ।                      |     |
| पालङ्गे फेलाइव हस्त नाइ प्रानेर धन ॥              | २४५ |
| दस गिरिर माओ वइन रवे स्यामि लइवे कोले ।           |     |
| आमि नारी रोदन करिव खाली घर मन्दीरे ॥              | २४६ |
| खाली घर जोड़ा टाटि मारे लाठिर घा ।                |     |
| वयस काले युवती राड़ी निते कलङ्क राओ ॥             | २४७ |



|                                                 |     |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----|
| आमाक सङ्गे करि लइया याओ ॥                       | २४८ |
| जीवर जीवन धन आमि कन्या सङ्गे गेले ।             |     |
| रान्हिया दिसु अन्न लुधार काले ॥                 | २४९ |
| पिपासार काले दिसु पानी ।                        |     |
| हांसिया खेलिया पोहामु रजनी ॥                    | २५० |
| आइल पातार दखिले कथा कहिया यामु ।                |     |
| गिरि लोकर वाडी गेले गुरु स्याम वलिसु ॥          | २५१ |
| सितल पाटि विहाइया दिसु वालीसे हेलान पाओ ।       |     |
| हाउस रङ्गे यातिसु हस्त पाओ ॥                    | २५२ |
| हात खानि दुःख हइले पाओ खानि यातिसु ।            |     |
| एरङ्गर कौतुकर बेला सुति भुझिसु, एसुति भुझाइसु ॥ | २५३ |
| ग्रीस काले वदनत दिसु दख पाखार वाओ ।             |     |
| माघ मासि सिते घेसिया रसु गाओ ॥                  | २५४ |
| माघ मासि सिते सित मरिचर भोल ।                   |     |
| इन्द्र मिठा भूँचाइसु एक सत नारीर काल ॥          | २५५ |
| राजा वले सुन कन्या हरि चन्द्रर वेटि ।           |     |
| कत रङ्गे कर माया सइवार ना परा गी ॥              | २५६ |
| वंस हरि गुरा खाइये दन्त करिले सोला ।            |     |
| कथा कहिते ज्वले दन्त गुञ्जरे भमरा ॥             | २५७ |
| नारी हवु चाकन चिकन पुरस कोश्या ओड़ा ।           |     |
| दस गिरस्त वलिवे अथीत नारी चोरा ॥                | २५८ |
| नारी चोरा अथीत वैले गिरस्त ना दिवे ठांइ ।       |     |
| तोर आमार वडुवार वेटि कहिवार सज्जात नाइ ॥        | २५९ |
| रानी वले सुन राजा विलातेर नागर ।                |     |
| एक निवेदन करि तोमार वरावर ॥                     | २६० |
| तोमार नाकान राम खिलिका गलार माभत दिया ।         |     |
| तोमार नाकान डोर कपिन वान्हिसु भिंडिया ॥         | २६१ |
| दुइ तन वान्हिसु नेते धोरा दिया ।                |     |
| कामुर क्यटा दन्त फेलाइसु भाङ्गिया ।             |     |

२५४। ग्रीस = ग्रीस ॥ २५८। गिरस्त = गृहस्थ। अथीत = अतीत ॥ २६०। विलातेर = ولايت ॥ २६१। नाकान = ? न्याय ॥ २६२। तन = सन ॥

आउ टाक माथार केस मुइ फेलाओ मुड़िया ॥ २६२

हातत तुम्हा गलात केसा उदासीनी हसु ।

तोमार पाकेर गिया भिच्चा मागि खासु ॥ २६३

स्यामेर वासिरे मन मजालुरे रया रया नयान भोरे ॥ धुया ॥ २६४

राजा वले जय विधि ठेकितु मया जाले ।

कि आमार प्रेमटा हसलो स्त्रीलोकर सङ्गे ॥ २६५

भोर सङ्गे यावु ना अथीतर सङ्गे यावे ।

सेटे आके वनर वाघ देखिया डड़ावे ॥

सेटे आके वनर वाघ दुर्जन वाघर भय ॥ २६६

स्त्री आर पुरुसे यदि पथ वइया याय ।

हेन दुःखे वोनर वाघे स्त्रीक धरिया खाय ॥ २६७

खावे आर ना खावे वाघे फेलाइवे मारिया ।

केने आर मरिवि तुइ अथीतर लगे याया ॥ २६८

खल खल करिया कन्या हासिवार लागिल ।

के कय ए गुला कथा के आर पइताय ॥ २६९

पुरुसर सङ्गे गेले कि स्त्रीक वाघे धरे खाय ।

ओ गुला कथा भुट सुट पालावार उपाय ॥ २७०

खायना केने वोनर वाघे ताक नाइ डर ।

नित कलङ्के मरन हउक स्यामिर पदतल ॥ २७१

तुमि हवु वट वृक्ष आमि तोमार लता ।

राङ्गा चरन वेड़िया लसु पालाइया यावु कोथा ॥ २७२

यखन आकिनु आमि मा वापर घरे ।

तखन केने धर्मि राजा ना गेलेन सन्यासि हइये ॥ २७३

यखन हइतु रुपर नारी तोरे योग्यमान ।

भोके काड़िया हवु सन्यास मुइ तेजिम परान ॥ २७४

तोमारे आगे काल यौवन भोर पडुक गड़िया ।

पाकिले माथार चुल यावेन सन्यास हइया ॥ २७५

ए रङ्ग मालतीर घरे लइया पड़े डाल ।

नारी हइये रङ्ग रुप राखिसु कत काल ॥ २७६

कत काल राखिसु यौवन वान्दिया छान्दिया ।  
निरवधि भोड़े प्रान स्यामी वलिया ॥ २७७

आमाक विवाह करिया याओ वल चलिया कान्दो तामार लागि ।  
तोमार आके वाप भाइ मोर अभागिनीर केउ नाइ ।  
आमि केड़े एलेम तोर राजार कारने ॥ धुया ॥ २७८

अदुना पदुना वाकिया विवाह करिल ।  
भाट ब्राह्मन दिया अदुना नाम युइल ॥ २७९  
अदुना नाम युइल दासी दिल सङ्गे ।

एमन पिरिति घर भाङ्गिसु केमने ॥ २८०  
कोन दरजाय भिच्चा लये कोन दरजाय पासु ।  
वानिया जाति छेचि कुल हिलाते हारासु ॥ २८१  
आमार नावालक सुन्दर कन्या येखानत देखिसु ।  
भुरिया भुरिया सेइ स्थानत मरिसु ॥ २८२  
तोमार नाकान सुन्दर कन्या येखानत देखिसु ।  
आगे मा दाओ दिया पञ्चात भिच्चा लसु ॥ २८३

हाय हाय स्यामि धन काडिलु काल राओ ।  
चेङ्गड़ा काले विवाह कैरे युवाय काडिया याओ ॥ २८४  
इओ काल थाक हृदे लैया हात ।  
यावत् घुरिया आसि वत्सर पञ्चास ॥ २८५  
माथा तुलिया देख राजा डाव नारिकल ।  
हृदय उपरत सोभा करे गुया नारिकल ॥ २८६  
हाते छिडिसु सुखत दिसु गाय नाइ तोर वल ।  
आकिल फल ये पुरस ना खाय चौइ गोखटा रसातले याय ॥ २८७

राजा वले सुन कन्या हरि चन्द्रर वेटी ।  
कथा भाङ्गि कथा वलिले ओ कथार मान याय ॥ २८८  
आगे चड़े हस्तिय माऊत पिछे चड़े राजा ।  
हाटिया देखिनु वड़ वाङ्गला पथे अनेक दुर ॥ २८९

खेये वुभिनु नारिकलर फल पेट नाइ भरे ।  
मिक्के थाकि गिरिर वेटा भेरन खाटिया मरे ॥ २६०

रानी वले सुन राजा रसिक नागर ।  
एक खानि निवेदन करि तोमार वरावर ॥ २६१  
याइस ना धर्मि राजा परदेसक नागिया ।  
एकटि क्केले दिया याओ कोलाक नागिया ॥ २६२  
नालिमु पालिमु क्केले कोलात करिया ।  
पुत्र धनक देखिया तोमाक पासरिसु ॥ २६३  
तोमार माथार क्क दण्ड पुत्रर माथामु दिया ।  
नया राजार मा वलिया राज्य खाइम वसिया ॥ २६४  
क्केलेर कथा वलिले रानी क्केलेर कथा सुनिया । २६५

चिनि चाम्पा कला नय जलत माखि खामु ।  
गाकर फल नय क्किडिया हस्तत दिसु ॥ २६६  
तोमार कपालत क्केले नाइ आमि कि करिसु ॥ २६७  
पूर्वकाली गुरर चान हृदये जपिया ।  
सात मासि क्केले हइ काया वदलाइया ॥ २६८  
कोलात वसाइया कन्या आमाम्माक वलिस पुत ।  
फेलाओ रानी हृदयर वसन राजा खाउक दुद ॥ २६९

आमि वलिनु क्केलेर कथा तुमि चाइलेन दुद ।  
विवाहिता स्यामि हओ केमने वलि पुत ॥ ३००  
तोमार गरवत क्लि राजा भेड़ा हगाल ।  
कड़ि कड़ार वुद्धि नाइ सरीरर भितर ॥ ३०१  
आम राडी देखिया वधुक राडी करे ।  
वाडीर आगे भातारटि गेले चत्तु पाकेया मरे ॥ ३०२

हां हां वडुयार वेटि माक दिल गाली ।  
रनु हय दिन चारिक सन्न्यास हसु काली ॥ ३०३  
कन्यार पेटा सइवार ना पारिया ।  
दरवार लागिया गेल राजा दुलालिया ॥ ३०४

२६०। मिक्के = मिथ्ये अर्थात् वृथा ॥ २६२। पासरिसु = ? स्पर्श करिव ॥

२६८। काया = काय ॥ २६९। दुद = दुग्ध ॥

|                                        |     |
|----------------------------------------|-----|
| वार गच्छि गुया तेर गच्छि ताल ।         |     |
| तार तले वसिल राजार काओयाल ॥            | ३०५ |
| ब्राह्मन सज्जन वसिल सारि सारि ।        |     |
| मुल्लुकर हिसाव देयु विर सिं भाण्डारि ॥ | ३०६ |
| सेनार खाटे थाकि मयना रुपार खाटे पाओ ।  |     |
| सुपुत्रर दरवारत गेल मयना मति माओ ॥     | ३०७ |
| भर काचारि करे डाम्बा डौल ।             |     |
| हेन पति खाड़ा हइल मयना सुन्दर ॥        | ३०८ |
| जननीक देखिया राजा करे परनाम ।          |     |
| गलात वस्त्र वान्धिया करे परनाम ॥       | ३०९ |

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|------------------------------------------|-----|
| जीओ जीओ राड़ी वेटा धर्मे देउक वर ।       |     |
| यत गुटि सागरर वाला एत आरिबल ॥            | ३१० |
| मुइ वुभ राड़ीर वेटा गेछे सन्न्यास हयया । |     |
| आइज पति आके सुन्दर वधु पायया ॥           | ३११ |
| सत्य गेल दोया पइल तिरतिया हइले ।         |     |
| कलि युग पड़े वेटा विवाह सकाले ॥          | ३१२ |
| कलि काल मन्द काल पइल आसिया ।             |     |
| प्रार धन परे खाय एकेला वसिया ॥           | ३१३ |
| राजा हइये ना करे राज्यर विचार ।          |     |
| पुत्र हइये ना करे पितार उद्धार ॥         | ३१४ |
| स्त्री हइये ना करे स्थायीर भक्ति ।       |     |
| सीछ हइये ना करे गुरुर आरति ॥             | ३१५ |
| चारिटा भाण्ड तार गेल अधगति ॥             | ३१६ |
| गुरु ना भजिले भाण्ड खगाले ना खाय ।       |     |
| अराविष्णु देहा हइले कागा काड़ि याय ॥     | ३१७ |
| आगुने पड़िले भाण्ड हय काड़ खार ।         |     |
| जलत भासिया दिले मत्सर आहार ॥             | ३१८ |
| मत्तिकाय गाड़िले भाण्ड पोकार आहार ।      |     |
| कोन दिया ना देखों तोर भाण्डर निस्तार ॥   | ३१९ |

३०६। मुल्लुकर = ملوك ॥ ३०७। दरवारत = دربار ॥ ३०८। ३११। पति = प्रति ॥ ३१२। दोया = द्वितीय ॥ ३१७। कागा = काक। cf. the Braj Bhāshā काम ॥

वाक्का निल कमलेरे केमन कैरे ।  
अर्थतेर सङ्ग याओ । लोके वलिवे ।  
इनि छेलेर बुझि माओ नाइरे ॥ धुया ॥

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सङ्ग्रास करिते राजा कैरे गेल मन ।  
चौपथर माभात कन्या जुड़िल कान्दन ॥  
केमन कैरे येते चाओ परदेस लागिआ ।  
केमन ज्ञान आछे मयनार नेओ परखिया ॥

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तैल परिच्छा देखौ मयनार वरावर ॥  
ऐ परिच्छाय याय यदि उत्तरिया ।  
मस्तक मुड़िया तवे याओ सङ्ग्रास हइया ॥  
एइ कथा सुनिया राजा ना थाकिल रैया ।  
दरवार लागिआ राजा गेल चलिया ॥  
दरवारे वसिया राजा वेचरित मन ।  
दयार भाइ गोलाम खेतुक डाके घने घन ॥

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तेरे वलों गोलाम खेतुक वाक्य मोर धर ।  
मायूर महुलक लागिआ याओ वल चलिया ॥  
एइ कथा सुनिया ना थाकिल रैया ॥  
एइ कथा वल गिया मयनार वरावर ।  
तैल परिच्छा दिवार चाय तोमार वरावर ॥  
एइ कथा सुनिया मयना हासिते लागिअ ।  
तोमार बुझि नय वधु सकलर चक्र ।  
यत बुझि सिखिया देय निरासी सकल ॥  
एक परिच्छार वदल सात परिच्छा दिसु ।  
तवु तोर राजार वेटा वाड़ी घर छाड़ामु ॥

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तोका वलों भाइया खेतु वाक्य मोर धर ॥  
आताइला पाताइला चौका नेओ वल आरोपिया ।  
तिनटा नारिकोलर फल तेहिरा खिचिया ॥

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| साइठ मोन कड़ाइ दिल चौकाय चड़ाइया ।   |     |
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| एइ कथा जानाइल खेतु राजार वरावर ॥     | ३३७ |
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| कि आच्चा वलेन तुमि राज राजेखर ।      |     |
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| तेर वापर खांओँ ना तेर राजार वापर खांओँ । |     |
| तेमार ऊकुमत कि परिच्छा दिवार यांओँ ॥     | ३४१ |

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४६७ । सुन्नाकारत = शून्याकारे ॥ ४७२ । उवजील = उपजिल अर्थात् जन्म हइल ॥  
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| आकारि धानर चाउल दिले विचिया वार्त्तिकि ।     |     |
| विचिया वार्त्तिकि दिले पुरिया खाइवार साना ।  |     |
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| थाकिवार घर दिले क्कागलर खुपुड़ि ॥            | ५८२ |
| सिकिया बाकुया दिले दुइटा जलर हाड़ि ।         |     |
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| सिकिया बाकुया निले दुइटा जलर हाड़ि ।         |     |
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| एक भार दुइ भार तिन भार डुवाइल ।              |     |
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इति ॥

I am sorry to say that the above text was copied out by an energetic *bābu* who had the greatest contempt for the dialect it illustrates. He showed his contempt by carefully *correcting* the text, wherever it differed much from his idea of the *sādhu bhāshā*. I did not discover this until the first two hundred and fifty verses had been printed off; so, thus far, the above must be taken *cum grano salis*. The principal improvements will be noted in the terminations of the genitive and locative. I may point out here, that Rangpurī possesses an instrumental ending in **ए**, which may easily be confused with the Bangālī locative. Thus **हाते** in Rangpurī means "with a hand", while in Bangālī it means "in a hand," of which the Rangpurī would be **हातत**.

### Translation of the Song of Ma'nik Chandra.

1. Think on the name of Ráma, meditate on him with a single mind. If thou utterest the name of Ráma what can Yama do. 2. The wicked man did not utter the name of Ráma in the sloth of his tongue: and even though it was a receptacle of ambrosia, his body was devoured by poison. 3. Who walketh uttering the name of Ráma, along with him goeth a servant of Ráma armed with bow and arrow. 4. The ship that is called by the name of Ráma, hath for its pilot the Holy Master himself. Opening out his arms he crieth out "Come, I will ferry thee across." 5. I have placed the worship of Ráma upon my head. I pause awhile from considering his virtues, and sing the virtues of one who hath accomplished (his path of holiness). By praising him I obtain the accomplishment of my desires.

6. Mánik Chandra was a very pious king in Banga. Each month he used to collect a tax on each plough of seven and a half *ganḍas*\* of *kāḍorís*. 7. The people paid a tax of seven and a half *ganḍas* of *kāḍorís*, and on the day of the *Ashtamí pújá* used to bring him a herd of goats. 8. The fuel-seller, who supplied him with fuel, had six months' taxes remitted to him in consideration thereof. 9. The leaf-seller, who supplied him with bundles of leaves, had six months' taxes remitted to him in that consideration. 10. Such a king was Mánik Chandra that his *ra'iyats*' fences were built simply of thin reeds; the man who lived at hap-hazard, even he had a horse at his door. So proud were they, that not even the maid-servants wore *sáris* made of jute. 11. No one had need to use the foot-path of another, and no one had to drink the water of another's tank.†

12. From the south there came a *Bangálá* with a long beard; and that *Bangálá*, when he came, made money from the country. 13. Where the tax had formerly been  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *ganḍas* he took 15 *ganḍas*. 14. They sold their ploughs, they sold their yokes, and some sold their ploughshares; through the distress caused by the taxation, some even sold their children at the breast. 15. The misery of the poor unhappy widows became very lamentable; all through the country the villages became broken up. 16. The little *ra'iyats* said to the big *ra'iyats* "Brothers, let us all go to the *pradháns*."‡ 17. Saying, "What advice will all the *pradháns* give," all the *ra'iyats* after consulting together, went to the house of the *pradháns*. 18. "What advice shall we adopt, brothers, and what course of conduct? The king within the kingdom hath become unjust." 19. The *Pradháns* said to all the *ra'iyats*, "This advice I have no power to give; come to Siva. Let us see what command the mighty Bholánátha will give us." 20. All

\* A *budí* is five *ganḍas* or twenty.

† *i. e.*, every one had his own private path to the *háṭ*, and his own private tank.

‡ The *Rangpurí* term for the village head-man.



the *ra'iyats* after consulting together, went to S'iva's (temple). 21. Calling him "S'iva Thákur," they cried with a loud voice. S'iva Thákur was in the temple, and put his foot outside the door.\* 22. When they saw S'iva, all the *ra'iyats* made obeisance. Tying their clothes round their necks, did they make obeisance.

## S'IVA SPAKE.

23. "Long may ye live, long may ye live, O *ra'iyats*, may Dharma bless you. May the days of your life be as many as the sands of the sea.

24. Why, why O *ra'iyats*, have ye all come?"

## THE RA'ITYATS SPAKE.

25. "What advice shall we adopt, and what course of conduct. The king within the kingdom hath become unjust." 26. The ancient S'iva meditated, and after meditating looked up, and found in the fate of the king that the limit of his life was six months distant.

## S'IVA SPAKE.

27. "If ye tell this word unto Mayaná she will assuredly destroy my kingdom of Kailása."

## THE RA'ITYATS SPAKE.

28. "One oath, two oaths, three oaths in the name of Hari. If we speak thy word, may we die in great sin." 29. All the *ra'iyats*, after consulting together, went to S'rikalá hát. 30. They filled an earthen pot with incense and vermilion. They filled a coop with geese and doves. 31. They also took a white goat, tying him with a rope. Fasting on a Sunday, they took them to a *tirtha* on the Gangá.† 32. They tied the goat at a place sacred to Dharma on the banks of the Gangá, and sacrificed it there.‡ 33. They offered several geese at the *ghát*, and burnt incense and vermilion there. 34. They rooted up unblown *binná* grass and brought it. And then wringing out his *languti*, he (S'iva) gave vent to the curse; and that curse they (the *ra'iyats*) took up in the corner of their garments.

35. On the Sunday S'iva gave the people this curse. On the Monday the fever seized the king. 36. On the Tuesday the king became weak; on

\* It is worth noting how entirely the ideas of the author of the poem are circumscribed by the incidents of his village life. Every one, God or man, acts and lives as if he were a simple *Rangpurí* villager. This verse is an instance. When one *ra'iyat* goes out to see another, it is the village etiquette, to bawl out to him, "He! so-and-so," while the visitor is yet a hundred yards or so from the house of him on whom he is about to call. If the latter is "at home," he goes outside his door, and greets the comer. This latter action is called "putting one's foot outside the door." Compare the English expression of "calling on a person."

† By the Gangá, is meant the Brahmaputra. See note to v. 159.

‡ Lit. Dug a hole for the sacrificial post in the same.

the Wednesday he ceased to eat or drink. 37. On the Thursday the king gave up the ghost\*: and on the following Tuesday, Chitra Govinda, the accountant of Yama, opened out his account papers. 38. He found in the account papers, that Mánik Chandra had six months to live; and turning his head, he began to speak to Saman Rájá Yama.

## YAMA SPAKE.

39. "A king within his kingdom hath become unjust. Bring hither that king within the house of Yama." 40. He began to call for Abál Yama. He sent a letter (for the king) by Godá Yama.

## YAMA SPAKE.

41. "I tell thee Godá Yama, and take thou heed unto my words. Bring Mánik Chandra Rájá here, with his hands and neck tied." 42. He took his leathern rope and his iron hammer, and tied them in a knot; and then Godá Yama started on his journey. 43. Many miles he went, many roads he met. He went a great distance and reached the house of Mánik Chandra. 44. During the six months' illness within the palace, the fair Mayaná did not enquire about the true state of affairs.

## THE KING SPAKE.

45. "O Nengá my servant, I tell thee, carry my message: go to Mayaná and tell her about this. 46. Say, 'For six months the king hath been ill within his palace. The King of Kings wisheth to see thee.'" 47. Nengá heard these words and did not tarry. He went off to the palace of Mayaná. 48. Inside the door the Lady Mayaná was playing dice, and through the lattice of the door Nengá made obeisance to her.

## MAYANÁ SPAKE.

49. "Why, why, O Nengá hast thou come?"

## NENGÁ SPAKE.

50. "Hear, O lady, hear the news; for six months the king hath been ill within his palace. The King of Kings wisheth to see thee." 51. The lady Mayaná became absorbed in contemplation, and, in her contemplation, her eyes fell upon Yama. 52. She took a *bangálú* betel-nut and sweet *míṭha bhari pán* leaf, and divided the nut into two pieces with a knife. 53. In the *pán* leaves she put a little lime, and folded together the *het khili* and the *upar khili*.† 54. She put sixteen scores of charms on the top of

\* Or perhaps "lost his power of sensation."

† The little conical shaped parcels of prepared *pán*, which we see in the *bázárs*, enclosing a piece of betel-nut and some lime, are called *khilis*. The outside wrapping is made up of two leaves, of which the lower one is called the *het khili*, and the upper one, the *upar khili*.

it; and put the plate of *pán* on the head of the maid-servant. 55. The Lady Mayaná went out, seeing that it was a lucky time, and arrived at the palace of the king.

## MAYANÁ SPAKE.

56. "Why and wherefore did the great king summon me?"

## THE KING SPAKE.

57. "The king hath been ill for six months in his palace, and the fair Mayaná did not enquire about him."

## MAYANÁ SPAKE.

58. "Hear, O king of kings. Learn the magical arts which I have acquired, and then the river of my life will dry up upon thy shoulder.\* 59. In my life time great trees will live and die, and we two shall live together in everlasting youth."

## THE KING SPAKE.

60. "Hear, O Mayaná: let Yama carry off me, Mánik Chandra; but nevertheless let not the knowledge of a woman be heard by me."† 61. The king, although offered the arts of women, neglected them; and at exactly midday Cuckold‡ Yama started. 62. He brought the thirsts of death and struck him with them. The king arose crying "Water, water. 63. Give me, O give me water, O fair Mayaná. Give me one vessel of water, and save my life."

## MAYANÁ SPAKE.

64. "There are a hundred queens in thy palace. Drink water at their hands, O king of kings."

## THE KING SPAKE.

65. "Water, at the hands of even a hundred queens, would smell of fish. It is when I drink at thy hand, that I find great solace."

## MAYANÁ SPAKE.

66. "If I go now to bring thee water, that cuckold Yama will bind thee and carry thee away."

\* *i. e.* thou wilt live as long as I.

† Lit. my womb.

‡ The word *Bhādūyá* is an abusive term, and means, more correctly, a man who makes money by the sale of his wife's person.

## THE KING SPAKE.

67. "List O Mayaná. Take heed to my words. Place the knife for sacrificing goats upon my bed. 68. When that cuckold Yama cometh, like a Daitya, or a Dánava, him will I strike and slay with the sacrificial knife." 69. As soon as the Lady Mayaná took the vessel in her hands, many men were heard to sneeze,\* and many death-watches sounded. 70. Just as the Lady Mayaná passed outside the house, seven men from the seven quarters came in with a noise like thunder. 71. They tied him with leathern thongs, and with an iron mallet they began to beat him.

## THE KING SPAKE.

72. "Who beateth me so often? The Lady Mayaná hath gone to fetch me water. Let me fill my belly with one vessel of water."

## THE YAMA SPAKE.

73. "Thy wife hath got a boon from Gorakh Náth. If Mayaná meet us, little good will it bode us. She will kneel upon us, and beat us this very midday." 74. Being unable to bear the beating of Yama, the king gave up the ghost, uttering the name of Mayaná. 75. That ghost took Godá Yama and tied it up in his *languti*, and to the seven quarters went off the seven men.

76. But Mayaná went to the banks of the Gangá† and spake "Hear, O Gangá, I make known unto thee my petition. 77. There is a king whose worship thou hast enjoyed for these twelve years; give one vessel of water and save his life. 78. For one vessel of water thou shalt have forty-two vessels; therefore do thou restore to life a pious king."

## GANGÁ SPAKE.

79. "For whom thou art taking thy vessel full of water; that pious king hath himself been taken away." 80. On hearing this Mayaná began to weep, and hurled away her vessel worth a *lakh* of rupees. 81. Mayaná dived fourteen fathoms beneath the water, and sat in contemplation, and saw that the vermilion on her forehead had become discoloured. 82. She saw that her shell bracelets had turned black, and she broke on her head the two bracelets worth a *lakh* of rupees.

## THE BURDEN OF HER SONG.

83. "I have lost my Lord. How many days must I wait and watch for him."

84. Mayaná walked to the palace. When the Lady Mayaná entered the temple, she lit both the front and the rear lamps. 85. Mayaná walked

\* Sneezing is a sound of ill omen.

† See note to v. 159.

to Yama's abode; the Lady Mayanā arrived on the banks of the dread river. 86. When Mayanā saw the river she became fearful. It is a river six months wide. The ferry-boat finishes its voyage in a year. Each wave seems vast as mountain peak.

#### THE BURDEN OF HER SONG.

87. "My fate hath become a lot of misery, as Kṛishṇa was of Bindā. The boat is broken and the ropes are worn; how can I pass over, O my guru. That is, if my guru is by me to help me. 88. I will hold the rudder of virtue. O my guru, the boat is broken, and the ropes are worn, but I will cross over."

89. Half her scarf she spread upon the water, and thinking upon virtue, she took her magic seat. 90. Mayanā uttered the words "*tuḍu, tuḍu*," and the journey of six months was accomplished in six quarters of an hour. 91. She walked to Yama's palace, where thirty-six *krors* of Yamas were sitting in the hall of audience. 92. As soon as the Lady Mayanā stood in Yama's abode, on this side and on that side the Yamas began to run away. 93. When Mayanā came to Yama's palace, she spread great alarm; some got colic and some got pains in their heads. 94. She became a Muhammadan doctor and a Hindu doctor, and extracted the poison from their bodies; but when she came to give them medicine every one ran away. 95. As soon as Godā Yama cast eyes on Mayanā, he ran away as fast as his legs would carry him to his own palace. 96. He went to his own palace and hid himself in a room, and from where she, the Lady Mayanā, was, she lost sight of him. 97. The Lady Mayanā went into contemplation and gazed about, and in her contemplation she saw him in his room. 98. Mayanā collected herself together, and laid aside her own proper form. She put on the appearance of a gardener's wife, and went into the palace of Godā Yama. 99. "Godā, Godā", Mayanā cried to him with a loud voice. 100. As soon as Godā Yama saw Mayanā he burst through the *tāṭī* walls of his palace and ran away\*. 101. Mayanā cried "*mār mār*" and chased him through a treeless field, where a hundred ploughmen were ploughing. Like a deer did Mayanā chase Yama. 102. Thence Godā Yama lost his senses and turned himself into a prawn, and jumped into the sea. 103. The Lady Mayanā went into contemplation and gazed about, and in her contemplation her eyes fell on the prawn. 104. Mayanā uttered "*ṭuru ṭuru*" with a terrible cry, and changed herself into forty-two buffalos, who jumped into the sea. 105. Eating cress she chased Yama. In mid-sea she caught Yama by the neck. 106.

\* Compare note on v. 21. All the houses of the peasantry in Rangpur are built of *tāṭī* (mat) walls. When a thief is caught in such a house, he attempts, usually successfully, to escape by bursting through these flimsy obstructions.

There Godá Yama, mighty as the thunder-bolt, burst the staff she held in her right hand and fled. 107. Thence Godá Yama lost his senses and he became a minnow and began to swim in the water. 108. Leaving her former shape, Mayaná concentrated herself and became a *Páñkauri* and *Váñoyár*,\* by a change of her form. 109. With flappings of her wings she chased him, and in mid-sea she snapped up Godá Yama in her bill. 110. Then Godá Yama, mighty as the thunder-bolt, thrust Mayaná off, and ran away. 111. Thereafter what did Godá Yama do? He became an eel, and hid himself in the mud. 112. Thence the Lady Mayaná went into contemplation, and her eyes fell upon him in the mud. 113. Mayaná uttered "*tuḍu, tuḍu*" with a terrible cry, she became a swan; pecking at the mud she chased Godá Yama, and in mid-sea she seized Godá Yama by the neck. 114. He thrust off the Lady Mayaná and fled away. He cast aside his former form, and Godá Yama concentrated himself. 115. He took the form of a maggot and went off to Pátála. 116. When he arrived at Pátála, Yama twisted his beard (boastfully). "Now, how will the *śyáli*, the Lady Mayaná, recognize me." 117. The Lady Mayaná went into contemplation and gazed about, and in her contemplation her eyes fell on the maggot. 118. Leaving her former shape Mayaná concentrated herself, and became an ant by a change of her form. 119. She went to the world of Pátála, and, seizing Godá Yama by the throat, gradually pulled him up out of the ground. 120. Leaving her former shape Mayaná concentrated herself, and became her ownself by a change of form. 121. She threw him down on his face, and began to belabour Godá Yama. She continued belabouring him till her hands were weary. She then turned him on his back, and began to kick him. 122. Then Godá Yama, mighty as the thunder-bolt, became a house pigeon and flew off to the sky. 123. Mayaná changed her shape, and became a falcon and a hawk, and she pecked at him and cast Godá Yama down from heaven. 124. Thence Godá Yama lost his senses, and became a mouse changing his form. 125. He went to Kaṭhiyá the oilman's house, and hid himself under his *máchá*.† 126. The Lady Mayaná went into contemplation and gazed about, and in her contemplation her eyes fell upon the mouse. 127. Leaving her former shape Mayaná concentrated herself, and became a cat by a change of form. 128. She changed herself from being one cat into forty-two cats, and surrounded the house of Kaṭhiyá the oilman. 129. One *dañḍa*, two *dañḍas*, three *dañḍas* passed, and the ill-natured woman caught good-natured Godá Yamá. 130. She made him descend from the *máchá*, and with a sudden leap the Lady Mayaná seized him by the neck. 131. Thence Godá Yama, mighty as the thunder-bolt, slipped out between the interstices of her claws and fled.

\* Two kinds of fish-eating birds.

† A bamboo bench.



132. Yama left his former shape, and concentrated himself. He became a *Vaishṇava* and changed his form. 133. He used the earth castings of crabs instead of sandal-wood paste, and made his rosary of *Sāil* seeds. 134. Hopefully he took a branch of a castor-oil tree (for his stick), and going into a *Vaishṇava pūjā* house, sat himself amongst the worshippers. 135. The Lady Mayanā went into contemplation and gazed about, and in her contemplation her eyes fell upon the *Vaishṇava*. 136. Mayanā gave up her former shape. She concentrated herself, and took that of a bee. 137. In the place of one bee she became forty-two bees, and set out for the place of worship, and she flew around the heads of all the *Vaishṇavas* there. 138. All the *Vaishṇavas* said, "Brothers, hear the news. What sinful *Vaishṇava* is in this assembly?" 139. As soon as Godā Yama saw the bees, he slipped under the quilts of the *Vaishṇavas*. 140. As soon as the Lady Mayanā found out where he was, she settled down upon Yama's neck. 141. Not being able to bear the stings of the bees, Godā Yama ran away from the place. 142. Mayanā laid aside her bee-shape, and, after concentrating herself, took her own form. 143. She seized Godā Yama, and plucked up from the ground an armful of *cluyā* grass. 144. Fifty-two times sixteen scores of ropes she twisted, sitting at a place where three roads meet,\* and tied her own waist to that of Godā Yama. Then she carried off Godā Yama beating him with a rod of cane.

#### MAYANĀ SPAKE.

145. "Hear, O Godā Yama, while I make my petition. Set free my husband, who is my only wealth."

#### GODĀ YAMA SPAKE.

146. "Thy husband I will not set free", and thereupon Mayanā began to weep.

#### THE BURDEN OF HER SONG.

147. "My husband is no longer in my house, O lord of the unhappy. For whom shall I abide in the days of my youth?"

148. Mayanā uttered "*tuḍu, tuḍu*" with a terrible cry, and all the Heavenly Munis came down on hearing her voice. 149. In a chariot of flowers, came Gorakh the Vidyādhara. Riding upon a flail, came Nārada

\* The fact that a place, where three roads meet, is considered especially favourable for performing magical rites, is worth noticing. I need hardly draw attention to similar customs obtaining in Europe. In Tirhut,—it is customary, when a person is sick, to cast away at midnight at a place where three roads meet, an offering of some yellow cloth, a fowl, and some condiments, over which some charms have been recited. It is believed that the disease will then leave the sick man, and seize upon the wayfarer who first comes across the offering in the morning.



the best of munis. 150. On the back of Vásoyá came Bholá, the lord of the world. Riding on a bow and arrow came Ráma Chandra and Lakshmana. 151. The five Páṇḍava brothers came down here and there; there is no counting the number of munis who came from heaven. 152. Mayaná parted her hair in two, and fell at the feet of Gorakh Náth.

## MAYANÁ SPAKE.

153. "Help, help, O Gorakh the Vidyádharma. He hath carried off my husband, who is all my wealth. He will not give back my husband, who is my wealth."

## GORAKH NÁTH SPAKE.

154. "Hear my words. All the munis have taken advice, and have blessed thee, Lady Mayaná. 155. Go, O Mayaná, we give to thee a boon. Let there be a fœtus developed for seven months now within thy womb." 156. Even as the munis blessed her, her body which was as light as *solí* (pith) gradually became heavy.

## THE MUNIS SPAKE.

157. "In eighteen months, it will be born, in its nineteenth year it will die. But, if it worship a Hádi's feet with steadfast mind, it will not die." 158. On hearing this Mayaná delayed there no longer. She started for her palace and arrived there in safety. 159. She took nine *káoris* in her hand, and departed to the banks of the Gangá.\* 160. With the nine *káoris* she bought a piece of land, and then returned to her own palace. 161. She broke up the old house and made a bier, and with it went some firewood on litters on men's shoulders. 162. Oil, *ghí*, mustard, and sesamum began to go. She called all her relations, and she cut some fresh bamboos and made a bier. 163. She took the pious king away upon the bier she had prepared, and the Lady Mayaná herself was carried off upon the door of the house. 164. Mayaná began to sing the Song of the Excellence of Hari. She began to praise him as she was carried to the river's bank. 165. She built a funeral pyre running north and south, she buried posts and made a platform. 166. By the side of each post she set a jar of *ghí*. Beneath each of them she set a jar of oil. Mustard seed and sesamum she scattered over the pyre. 167. Mayaná uttered the words "Guru, Guru" with a terrible cry, and Gorakh Náth came there and stood visible.

## MAYANÁ SPAKE.

168. "Protect me, O protect me, O Gorakh the Vidyádharma."

\* It must be noted, that throughout this poem, the word Gangá does not refer to the river commonly known as the Ganges. It always refers to the Brahmaputra.

## GORAKH NÁTH SPAKE.

"Go forth Mayaná, I have given thee a boon. Within the fire thou shalt perceive the cold of Mágha. 169. Mayaná began to spread vermilion all over her forehead. 170. She put on a silken scarf. She took a golden knife and a mango branch in her hand, and she laid out the king towards the north and south. 171. Mayaná laid the king's head on her right hand, and she put her own head on his left hand. 172. In each household a citizen gave one piece of firewood. The pile of firewood almost touched the sky as well as the earth. 173. Water and sandal-wood did Chandra, the merchant, scatter upon the pyre. Not a single near relation was present to set it alight. 174. One who lived near the door of the king,—a bráhmaṇ *guru*,—stretched forth his hand and applied the torch. 175. Each relation cast one vessel of water on the pyre. Together they lustrated the pyre, once, twice, and five times. Saying "*Hari bol!*" they set it alight. 176. E'en as the fire smelt the smell of the *ghí*, it blazed up with a great roar. 177. For seven days and nine nights Mayaná stayed within the blaze, and even her apparel though offered to the flames did not take fire. 178. Mayaná burnt the body of the pious king, and placed the ashes in her lap. There sat Mayaná, like a *Gosrámi* in his house. 179. Mayaná burnt the body of the pious king and the smoke rose up to heaven. There sat the Lady Mayaná like unmelted gold. 180. The little relations said to the big relations, "Brothers, thrust at her. Let all the relations thrust at her." 181. The Lady Mayaná is sitting within the fire. She cries: "Hear, O relations, I have a child of seven months in my womb. Let not all the relations thrust at me." 182. The little relations said to the big relations, "Brothers, let us go to Chánd the merchant, and ask his advice. 183. Ye know Chánd the merchant from childhood. Let us see what answer he will give." 184. Behind the door sat the merchant playing dice; and through the lattice, did they make reverence to him.

## CHÁND SPAKE.

185. "Why, O relations, why and wherefore have ye all come?"

## THE RELATIONS SPAKE.

186. "For seven days and nine nights Mayaná hath been in the fire, and yet the Fair Mayaná hath not been burnt."

## CHÁND SPAKE.

187. "This Mayaná hath obtained a boon from Gorakh Náth. Fire doth not burn her, nor doth she sink in water. Were the three worlds to come to an end, she would not go to Yama's abode. And yet, O relations, ye wish to slay her. 188. Sit ye in a place where three roads meet, and

twist of grass fifty-two *krors* of ropes; carry ye off a stone weighing twenty-two *mans*. 189. Thrust her forth from the fire, and tie ye the twenty-two *man* stone upon her chest. 190. Cast ye Mayanā and the ashes of the fire away on the stream, that they may float away. Then bathe ye and return to your homes." 191. On hearing this the relations no longer stayed. They carried away the stone of twenty-two *mans*. 192. They thrust the Lady Mayanā forth from the fire, and tied the stone of twenty-two *mans* on her chest. 193. They cast her and the ashes upon the stream, and bathed and returned to their homes.

194. At the expiration of eighteen months and eighteen days Mayanā became filled, and then the (future) pious king turned himself in her womb. "I die, I die," said Mayanā, and she began to weep. 195. She brought into use her magical art called *kharupā* (the art of cutting), and by it she cut open her fifty-two *krors* of ropes. 196. "I die, I die," said Mayanā, as she landed at the foot of a *Nim* tree; and as she ascended, a sound was heard like unto the roaring of heaven in the intermediate quarters. 197. The Mahārāja fell upon the ground amid the after-birth and birth waters; and he began to cry, saying "*omyā* and *chomyā*." 198. The little relations said to the big relations, "Brothers, let us go and see whose child is crying thus." 199. They took one step, and they took two steps, and they arrived at the spot. Mayanā said unto them. "Hear, O relations and mark my words. 200. Decorate the *pálkī* of the old king and bring it here, and take this child-king to the palace." 201. They decorated the *pálkī* of the old king and brought it, and they mounted the pious king within it. 202. Big drums, and little drums, guitars, and cymbals sounded in all directions. Cymbals, side drums and kettle-drums sounded in all directions. 203. There was firing of guns and a thick darkness caused by the smoke. Father could not recognize son; he only could call for him. 204. There was a poor man who had a child in the kingdom, and he could not give it food and water in his own house. 205. So he cast it down at a place where three roads meet, amidst its after-birth and birth waters. 206. That child did Mayanā also take up into her bosom, and carry to the palace.

#### MAYANĀ SPAKE.

207. "I say unto thee, my maid-servant, pay attention to my words." 208. The maid-servant went and called the wet-nurse and brought her. 209. The wet-nurse cut the navel strings of both the children. She took all the presents that Mayanā gave, and went to her own house. 210. What with to-day and what with to-morrow seven days passed, and during the seven days the king caused a concert of flutes and drums to be made. 211. What with to-day and what with to-morrow, ten days passed, and after ten days the king held the first *śrāddha* after his father's death. 212.

On the thirteenth day the king held the final *śrāddha*, and held a concert of drums and cymbals, and all the relations came and sacrificed. 213. He gave a feast to all his relations, and at that hour the Lady Mayaná first touched fish. 214. What with to-day, and what with to-morrow, a year passed, and after one year another day came. 215. What with to-day, and what with to-morrow, five years passed, and she gave him to be taught by a *guru*. 216. He taught the king to write in four lessons. What with to-day, and what with to-morrow, seven years passed. 217. The king was then named. Mánik Chandra Rájá's son was called Gopí Chandra. 218. And his younger (foundling) brother was called Lankeśwar "Found in the Field."\* 219. What with to-day, and what with to-morrow, nine years passed; and then, what did the Lady Mayaná do? 220. She spake as follows to the *Guru* bráhmaṇ.

#### MAYANÁ SPAKE.

221. "Go, go, O *guru* bráhmaṇ, pay attention to my words. Go quickly before the king Harís Chandra. 222. He has two daughters in his palace, named Aduná and Paduná. Arrange a marriage between them and my son, and return." 223. The Reverend Bráhmaṇ on hearing these words did not delay. But hastened to the palace of king Harís' Chandra. 224. He cried out with a loud voice "Ho! King Harís' Chandra."† The king was in his house and he stepped out. 225. The reverend and learned Bráhmaṇ made salutation. 226. The king gave him a god-like throne to sit upon, and after supplying him with camphor and betel, enquired as follows. 227. "Why and wherefore, O *guru* bráhmaṇ, hast thou come so great a distance?"

#### THE BRAHMAN SPAKE.

228. "Mayaná hath sent me to thy presence. In thy palace are two damsels named Aduná and Paduná. The fair Mayaná wisheth to form a marriage with them. 229. Mayaná hath a son within her palace, and to him doth she wish to give them."

#### THE KING SPAKE.

230. "Go, go, I consent," and ordered him away. And the Bráhmaṇ on hearing this returned to Mayaná. 231. They took a load of betel nuts and a load of *pán* leaves. And five bráhmaṇs began to cut the betel and the *pán*. 232. They cut the betel and *pán* and searched for a

\* He is also called Khetu, or Khetuwá, and appears to have become Gopí Chandra's servant. He took over his concubines when the latter went on his pilgrimage. See also note to verse 290.

† Compare note to v. 21.

lucky day, and then did they fix the time of the marriage. 233. On the Saturday, Mayaná fasted, and on the Sunday, she made arrangements for the marriage. 234. They planted five plantain trees in King Haris' Chandra's palace, and they lit the golden lamps and the censers on the day fixed. 235. They then sent for five singing women, and cries of "*ulu, ulu*" were heard around. 236. He gave Aduná in marriage, he gave Paduná, and he gave a hundred maid-servants to wait upon them. 237. He gave as wedding-presents a hundred villages, and a hundred elephants. 238. He gave as wedding presents a hundred horses and a hundred cows. 239. After giving them in marriage he allowed them to depart. And immediately afterwards the Lady Mayaná sent an invitation to all the kings of all the kingdoms. 240. From that time that pious king was called Gopí Chandra.

241. After eighteen years, at the advice of his aged mother he became a *Sanyási*. 242. A hundred beautiful damsels, weeping, fell at his feet, "O pious king, do not depart and leave us."

#### THE QUEEN SPAKE.

243. "Nay, nay, thou shalt not go, my King, to a far country. For whom but thee, have I built up this cold dreary house (of my life). 244. I built a humble\* dwelling, nor yet is it sullied by old age. Why art thou leaving me in my youth, and turning my bridehood into vanity? 245. In my dreams shall I see my king. I shall throw my arm on the couch; but the wealth of my life will not be there. 246. Behold, every† mother and sister of a man of modest wealth shall have her master to sleep upon her bosom, while I, unhappy one, will remain weeping in an empty house. 247. When a house is empty and the doors are closed, men come and kick the walls outside. In the time of her youth all voices cast scandal at a widow. 248. Therefore shalt thou take me with thee. I am the life, the wealth of thy life; let thy damsel go with thee. 249. In the time of thy hunger I will cook thy food. When thou art thirsty I will give thee to drink. 250. In mirth and laughter will I pass the night. 251. If we have a long field to traverse, I will wile away the time in talk. When we approach the dwelling of a householder, there will I reverence thee like my *guru*. 252. A cool mat‡ will I spread for thee; on a pillow shalt thou rest thy feet. Laughing and joking will I shampoo thy body. 253. When I hurt thy hand I will shampoo thy feet, and amidst our sport and laughter, I will devour thy bosom, and thou shalt devour

\* Lit. pent-roofed.

† Lit. ten. This use of "ten" for "every," is of frequent occurrence in Rangpur. Thus *Das'jan ki kay*? is the stock expression equivalent to "What do people say?"

‡ *Vulgo. Sektul-pat.*

mine. 254. In the hot season will I fan thy countenance with a palm leaf. In the cold month of Mágha I will nestle into thy body for warmth, 255. In the cold month of Mágha I will cook for thee spiced viands.\* Indra's favourite sweetmeat, the lap of a hundred wives, will I alone cause thee to enjoy."

#### THE KING SPAKE.

256. "List, O daughter of king Harís Chandra. In many varied ways art thou displaying thy charms, nor can I bear them. 257. Thy teeth are white as the *solá* pith, from eating the *Vansa Hari* nut. When thou speakest, they glisten (like white flowers), and the bees come humming towards them. 258. If thou goest with me, thou wilt be a woman of fresh and fair appearance, and I will be a man clad in one rough blanket. When they see us, all the people will say—'There goeth a pilgrim, but he is a stealer of women.' 259. And if they say this, no householder will give us shelter. In thy word and in mine, O daughter of a prince, will they put no trust."

#### THE QUEEN SPAKE.

260. "Hear me, my King, thou loved one not to be deceived.† One petition, and no more I make unto thee. 261. Like thee will I put around my neck a Ráma rosary. Like thee will I wear nought but a single tight and scanty cloth. 262. My two breasts will I tie up in tattered clothes. I will break six of my front teeth. My tresses which hang down unto my knees, them let me cut and cast away. 263. I will take in my hand a hollow gourd. I will cast a rough blanket round my neck. I too will become a pilgrim. Following thy footsteps will I beg for alms."

#### THE BURDEN OF HER SONG.‡

264. "O! the pipe of S'yám. My mind whirls. My eyes flow with tears."

#### THE KING SPAKE.

265. "O mighty fate. I am encompassed amidst a net of charms. What love is this which I have for a woman. 266. If thou goest with me, thou wilt be going with a pilgrim. There there are tigers of the wood, and when thou seest them thou wilt be afraid. There there are tigers of the wood, and great is the fear of them that be mighty. 267. When a

\* Lit. curries made of cold weather chillies.

† Lit. "English."

‡ This *Duyá* forms the first verse of a song in honour of Kṛishṇa, which is given in the appendix.



man and a woman, in such plight as thou and I, go along the road ; the tiger of the wood seizeth the woman and eateth her. 263. Whether the tiger eat thee or eat thee not, he will assuredly kill thee. Why therefore wilt thou kill thyself because thou wouldest follow an ascetic."

269. The damsel began to laugh freely.

#### THE QUEEN SPAKE.

"Who sayeth these words? and who believeth them? 270. What tiger slayeth and eateth the woman that goeth with her husband? These words are but to deceive, and a pretext for thy flight. 271. Let the tiger of the wood devour me, I fear him not. It is better to die at the feet of my husband than to lead a life of perpetual disgrace. 272. Thou wilt be my banyan tree, and I will be thy creeper. To thy feet will I cling, and then whither wilt thou flee? 273. When I was in my father's house, O pious king, why didst thou not then become a pilgrim? 274. Now I have become a comely woman, and worthy of thee. If thou leavest me and becomest an ascetic, I will surely die. 275. Let the stream of my youth fall down before thee. When the hairs of my head turn gray, then do thou turn pilgrim. 276. The branches of fair jasmynes bend down to the ground (with age). I am now a full grown woman, and how long shall I retain my comeliness? 277. How long shall I keep my youth, e'en though I bind it and tie it down. For continually my heart weepeth for my husband."

#### THE BURDEN OF HER SONG.

278. "Thou hast wedded me, and thou art going. I weep for thee. Thou hast thy father, and thy brethren; but I, unhappy one, have none. I have left them all for thee, O king."

279. He had chosen Aduná and Paduná, and had married them. A *bhāṭṭa* bráhmaṇ had named her Aduná. 280. He himself had called her Aduná and given her maid-servants.

#### THE KING SPAKE.

"How can I break such love in my house? 281. I will take alms from one door, and will go to the door of another: easily will I lose my Kshetri birth and my Baniyá caste. 282. Where'er I shall see a woman like thee, my youthful lovely wife, there weeping will I lay me down and die. 283. Where'er I shall see a woman like my lovely wife. First will I address her as 'mother,' and then will I ask for alms."

#### THE QUEEN SPAKE.

284. "Alas, alas, my own husband, thou hast uttered a black word. Thou hast married me in my childhood, and thou desertest me in my youth."



## THE KING SPAKE.

285. "Now also wait thou with thy hand upon thy heart. Until I return after fifty years have passed away."

## THE QUEEN SPAKE.

285. "Lift up thy head, O king, and see a pair of juicy cocoa-nuts over my heart. The pair of cocoa-nuts shine forth with lustre. 287. I will open the nuts and put them to thy mouth, thou hast not strength in thy body (to pluck them). It is a fruit, which if a man refuse, he will suffer the pangs of hell four times fourteen times.

## THE KING SPAKE.

288. "Hear me, O lady, daughter of Harís Chandra. When a secret hath been divulged, the meaning of its words become plain. 289. In front rideth an elephant's *mahánt*, behind him the king. Far have I gone, and (I have learned that) the great house of my pilgrimage is at a far distance. 290. I have tasted the fruit of the cocoanut and my belly was not filled. In vain have I, a householder, suffered\* in my servitude."

## THE QUEEN SPAKE.

291. "Hear me, my king. My pleasant loved one, one petition have I to make unto thee. 292. "Do not, O pious king, go to a far country. Give me one little child, that I may keep him in my lap. 293. I will keep him and nurse him in my lap, and I will touch thee when I see my darling child. 294. I will place the sun-shade and staff of thy royalty over my child's head. I will be the mother of the king and will enjoy the kingdom." 295. The queen spoke of a child, and the king heard her words and said,

## THE KING SPAKE.

296. "What thou desirest is not a *chíní chám pá* plantain, that I may mix it with water and give it thee to eat. It is not the fruit of a tree, that I can pluck it, and place it in thy hands. 297. Fate hath not given thee a child. What can I do? 298. I will repeat the charms of the *gurus* of old, and will become a seven months' child within thy womb. 299. Thou shalt call me 'son.' Thou shalt open the covering of thy breast, and shalt give me milk."

## THE QUEEN SPAKE.

300. "I spake to thee of a child, and thou speakest to me of milk. Thou art my wedded husband, how can I call thee 'son.' 301. I knew

\* Lit. Died. A popular song makes Gopí Chandra charge his wives with intriguing with Khetuwá Lankes'var as a last resource for getting away. But this is not borne out by any copy of this poem which I have seen.

not, O king, that there were but a sheep\* and a jackal within thy heart. Not one *kāori* of sense hast thou in thy body. 302. (Thy mother) because she is a widow, wisheth to make her daughter-in-law a widow too. Even if my husband pass her house, (jealously) doth she turn her eyes upon him."

#### THE KING SPAKE.

303. "Ha! thou daughter of a vile one; thou hast abused my mother. I might have stayed a few days, but I will go to-morrow." 304. He could not bear the childishness of the damsel, and so the fair king went to the place of audience. 305. (There was a grove) of twelve *supāri* trees and thirteen *tāl* trees, and in its shade sat the king's son. 306. The bráhmans and the relations all sat in a row, and Bír Simh, his Bhándári, gave him the accounts of the kingdom. 307. On a golden seat sat Mayanā with her feet on a silver stool. The Lady Mayanā went to the audience of her good son. 308. The full cutcherry hummed with the noise of the crowd, and there the fair Mayanā stood. 309. When the king saw his mother, he made obeisance; as he made obeisance, he tied his cloth around his neck.

#### MAYANA' SPAKE.

310. "Long live the widow's son. May Dharma bless him. May the years of his life be many as the sands of the sea. 311. I thought the widow's son had gone to be a pilgrim; but lo, till to-day he is here with his fair wife. 312. The Satya Yuga is passed, we are in the second Yuga, the third Yuga will come. But in the Kali Yuga sons will marry early. 313. The Kali era is a foul era, and hath now approached. Each sitteth alone and enjoyeth another's wealth. 314. Kings will no longer do justice in their kingdom, and sons will no longer offer sacrifices for their fathers. 315. Wives will no longer be faithful to their husbands. Pupils will no longer reverence their teachers. 316. Behold, four miscreants went to destruction. 317. The miscreant who doth not reverence his teacher, him even jackals will not eat. Even crows will not touch the body of a Vaishnava. 318. Let a miscreant be cast into fire and he becometh dust and ashes. Let him float upon the water and he becometh food for fishes. 319. He is buried beneath the earth and he becometh food for worms. No where do I see salvation for a miscreant."

#### THE BURDEN OF HER SONG.

320. "My darling blue lotus, how canst thou become an eremite? Men will say there goeth one who hath no mother." 321. The king made up his mind to be a pilgrim, and at a cross-road his queen began to weep.

\* I. e. That your heart contained nothing but cowardice and treachery.

## THE QUEEN SPAKE.

322. "How canst thou wish to go to a far country? Oh wait and pass the charms of Mayanā through an ordeal. 323. Oh put her to the test of burning oil. If she survive that ordeal, then slave thy head and go forth a pilgrim." 324. The king heard this and hastened to the hall of audience. 325. He sat in the audience chamber, and could not make up his mind. Often and often he called for his servant Khetu, his younger brother.

## THE KING SPAKE.

326. "My servant Khetu, take heed unto my words. Go\* unto my mother's palace." 327. On hearing this, the servant did not delay. 328. "Say this to Mayanā—('Thy son) would put thee to the test (of burning oil')." 329. Hearing these words, Mayanā laughed. "This is not thy thought, but a conspiracy between thy wives. All the thoughts they teach thee, will become barren. 330. Instead of one ordeal, I will pass through seven, and then will the Prince leave his house."

## THE KING SPAKE.

331. "I say unto thee, Khetu, and take thou heed unto my words. 332. Build thou up a furnace deep and wide. Strip off the three fibres of three cocoa-nuts, and place the bare (nuts round the furnace as supports for the cauldron)." 333. Khetu set a cauldron holding sixty *mans* upon the furnace, and into the cauldron he poured eighty† *mans* of oil. 334. He cast upon the flames fuel of *śāl* wood, and set it blazing. Over all he placed a cover. 335. For seven days he ceaselessly added fuel. 336. One day, two days, five days passed. After seven days he lifted the cover. 337. "The oil is hot, even as fire," such words did Khetu speak unto the king. 338. "Thy servant was ordered to make (preparations for) the ordeal by oil. 339. What command hath the king of kings for his servant?"

## THE KING SPAKE.

"Go and say this unto my mother. 340. 'The ordeal by oil is ready before the king. The king doth summon thee; O Mother, come quickly'."

## MAYANA' SPAKE.

341. "Do I eat at thy fathers' hand, or at the hands of the fathers of the king. At thy command, what ordeal shall I pass through?" 342.

\* Note the force of वल here, and in vv. 328 and 332. It has entirely lost any special meaning of its own; and is used as a pure expletive to add strength to an imperative.

† Sic in original.

These words Khetu told the king, who heard them, and became furiously enraged. 343. The king took his evening towel for washing his body, and flung it to Khetu. 344. And Khetu shook that towel, and with it bound tightly the lady Mayanā, and cast her into the oil. 345. Even as the lady Mayanā fell amid the oil, the flames rushed up with a roar to heaven. 346. Mayanā sunk into the oil up to her neck, and, as she did so, she took the oil into her hands and patted it into her head as if she were bathing. 347. Seeing calamity (approaching) the king became furiously enraged. He called Khetu, calling him, "Slave, slave," and began to abuse him. 348. "Lift up the cover and place it over my mother, and for nine days continuously, do thou add fuel to the flames." 349. One day, two days, three days passed away. But Mayanā concentrated herself and took the form of a grain of mustard. 350. After nine days, Khetu lifted up the cover and when he could not see the queen, he began to cry. 351. Thus did he say unto the king. "Thy mother is dead, and gone to Yama's abode. 352. Wherefore dost thou keep thy *pāgarī* on thy head? Behold (I am unclean) and the assembly of brāhmanas will not drink water at my hand." 353. The king cried "Mother, mother" and began to weep.

#### THE BURDEN OF HIS SONG.

354. "Fate hath made me motherless, O lord of the unhappy. Such was written in my destiny. No longer will I see my mother." 355. He took a handful of twigs in his hand and began to search amidst the oil. 356. Once, twice and thrice he searched. At the third time of searching he fished up the towel. No trace of Mayanā's body was within the fire. 357. Sixteen men took the cauldron on their shoulders, and they flung out the oil at a place where three roads meet. 358. With a loud roar the flames rose to heaven, but Mayanā in her form of a mustard seed remained hidden in the *Dub* grass. 359. Suddenly Khetu began to weep, and when she heard the sound of his weeping, Mayanā felt pity for him.

#### MAYANA' SPAKE.

360. "Weep not, weep not, Khetu, my servant. Cease thy tears. I am Mayanā. I have not been burnt within the furnace." 361. He took up the sixty-man cauldron in his hand and brought it before the king. 362. Mayanā in fact underwent seven ordeals, and passed them all.

#### THE KING SPAKE.

363. "Hear, O lady Mayanā, my mother. From what *siddha* hast thou learnt thy magic arts?"

#### MAYANA' SPAKE.

364. "Thou askest me from what holy man I have learned my arts. I have learned them from Gorakh Nāth himself. 365. I tell thee, learn

thou thy knowledge from Kholá the Hádi.” 366. When the king heard the name of a Hádi, he stopped his ears with his hands. For she had uttered an impious word with her tongue.

#### THE KING SPAKE.

367. “A Hádi is of a vile caste. He cleanseth privies and doth not bathe. Shall I, a king, make obeisance to a Hádi for twenty-two *daṇḍas*!

#### MAYANÁ SPAKE.

368. “Hear me, my child, speak thy words in a whisper, so that the Hádi may not hear. If he cursed thee, thou wouldest die at once. 369. Thy subjects feed their lamps with oil and ghí: but that Hádi feedeth his lamp with merely Gangá water. 370. As many lamps as there are in the houses of thy subjects, so many hath that Hádi in his little hut 371. In whosoever house he eateth, to whosoever house he goeth, simply at the word of his mouth he causeth the sea to stop its motion.” 372. The king sat in his audience chamber and could not make up his mind. Repeatedly he called his servant Khetu, his younger brother. 373. “Where hast thou gone, my brother? First would I eat *pán*,\* then I would have the *paṇḍit* of the days of my father come to me.” 374. Khetu heard these words and made no delay. He hastened towards the *paṇḍit*’s house. 375. “I say unto thee, O reverend *paṇḍit*, and pay thou heed unto my words. The king would see thee in his palace. Haste thee to the hall of audience.” 376. He dressed himself in a *dhutí* of modest kind. Loosening out his brahmanical cord, so that the threads appeared in pairs, he passed it round his neck. 377. He took his papers relating to the Almanac under his arm, and proceeded to the king’s hall of audience. 378. The hall was full, the crowd gave forth a confused noise. At this time did the *paṇḍit*, the son of a *paṇḍit*, present himself. 379. “Incarnation of justice” he said and made obeisance. “Tutelary Deity of my family” said the king making obeisance in return. 380. He called him “Reverend Brother,” and made him sit upon the couch. “O reverend Sir, thou art the crest-jewel among prophets. 381. What day will the king sew for himself a beggar’s wallet and quilt? What day will the king shave his head? 382. What day will the great king besmear himself with ashes? What day will the pious king pierce his two ears? 383. What day will the pious king wear nought but a *langutí*? What day will I carry a beggar’s platter in my hand? 384. What day will I start for a far country? Read me aright, and prophesy me this.” 385. Taking every precaution to ensure good luck, he produced his Almanac. Such power was there in that Almanac that it could speak itself.

\* That is to say, “immediately.” Chewing *pán* is such a mechanical and continuous action with a Rangpuri man or woman, that the phrase “to do a thing after eating *pán*”, means to do it at once. Cf. vv. 398, 553 and 692.

## THE BOOK SPAKE.

386. "On Tuesday will he sew his wallet and his quilt. On Wednesday will he shave his head. 387. On Thursday will he besmear himself with ashes. On Friday the king shall pierce his two ears. 388. On Friday the king shall pierce his ears, and on Saturday shall he put on a *languti*. 389. On Sunday the king shall take in his hand a beggar's platter; on that day the king shall set out for a far country. 390. He will take thee from thy home and will give thee advice and hope. For some days he will distress thee in the midst of the forest. Other sorrow will he give thee in the sandy waste. 391. Other sorrow will he give thee in the city of S'rikalā. He will pawn thee for food in the house of Hírā the Harlot. 392. The Harlot's dress will be a linen *sári* bright as fire. Thy dress, O king, will be a knotted rope. 393. Unsifted rice will she give thee and *brinjals* full of seeds. She will give thee *brinjals* full of seed, and thou wilt burn them and eat them. A pitiless harlot is she; thou wilt be forbidden oil and salt. 394. The harlot will seek the privy, and it wilt be thou who wilt cleanse it. Thou shalt close thy eyes, and proffer her the water of her sin.\* 395. Early in the morning shalt thou rise, and she will beat thee with a broom. Thou shalt lift up the bed of her sins, of countless, countless sins. 396. *Bhāngi* ropes will she give thee and a *bhāngi* stick and two water jars. Twelve loads shalt thou measure out every day."

## THE KING SPAKE.

397. "Hear, Reverend Sir. Happiness and misery are written in our destiny. Methinks, I see death written by the Creator in my fate. 'Tis not in two syllables and a half that it can be cancelled." 398. Brother Khetu, where art thou gone? First would I eat *pān*. Then would I give the Brāhmaṇ a present and bid him good speed." 399. He gave him a present and bade him speed. "Make present the barber of my father's time." 400. He went to the *nāpīt* and called him to the king, saying "Brother, fetch thy razors and come." 401. The hall was full. The crowd gave forth a confused noise. At this time did the barber, the son of a barber, present himself. 402. Even as the pious king saw the barber, he descended from his throne†; and as he did, the theatrum of the temple, and other walled buildings fell to the ground. 403. The forest trees, and the shrubs, the very leaves of the trees began to weep. The forest deer bent their heads

\* Not a literal translation.

† The word used is "*pāt*". A *pāt* in Rangpur is the term used for one of those solid blocks of masonry found here and there in the district. Kings of the olden days are said to have sat upon them, and there to have dispensed justice. One of them, however, (*Haris' Chandra Rājā Pāt*, see fig. 3), is almost certainly a tomb.



and wept. 404. At the *ghāt* of the *Ghāṭwāl* there were twenty-two *kāhans*\* of ships, and they all wept. Twenty-two *kāhans* of ships wept and twenty-three *kāhans* of boatmen, and amongst them Vis'ves'var the boatman also wept. 405. The deer-park wept and the children's summer-house. Even the school of harlots wept. 406. The *Tiṭiyā Manjar* wept within its cage. And nine *budis*† of dogs wept as they were hunting. 407. The hospital and the *toshā-khāna* wept at intervals. Water-houses, summer-houses and cow-houses‡ (?) wept in countless number. 408. In the elephant stalls, the elephants wept. In the stables, the horses wept. In the throne-room, all the dresses were wet with tears. 409. A hundred cows wept, throwing their tails round the king's neck §; and nine *budis* of dogs wept at his feet. 410. A hundred queens rolled upon the earth and wept. Adunā and Padunā clasped his feet and wept.

#### ADUNA' AND PADUNA' SPAKE.

411. "Alas, alas, my husband, my wealth. Thou art deserting me. Who now will protect me, and bring me *ghī* and rice to eat?" 412. The king's mother wept with tears falling from her eyes, and they brought a jar of Gangā water. 413. They brought a leaf of a Newāij tree, and they poured water on him from a golden cup. 414. As they poured water on the head of the king, the royal throne quaked. 415. The barber grasped his razor and gazed around. But he received no order to shave the king.

#### MAYANA' SPAKE.

416. "O barber, towards whom art thou looking? Scorn not thou to shave the head of my darling. Diamonds will I give thee and mounted work; pearls will I give thee as a token. 417. Shave off all his hair, leave only one crown-lock. If thou shavest it off, thereby wilt thou lose thy quilt and wallet." 418. He took his razor in his hand and for a hundred days the king's hair fell upon earth. It became a hairy Gangā and began to flow away. 419. Mayanā uttered "*Tuḍu, Tuḍu*" with a terrible cry, and sixteen hundred *Munis* came down on hearing it. 420. In his chariot of flowers descended Gorakh the Vidyādhara. On a flail came riding Nārada, best of munis. 421. On the back of Vāsōyār descended the mighty Bholānāth. On bow and arrow came down Rāma and Lakshmana. 422. In different directions descended the five Pāṇḍava brothers. There

\* A *kāhan* = 16 *pans* of 20 *ganḍas* or 1280.

† A *budī* = 5 *ganḍas* or twenty.

‡ The meaning of *gokula* here is unknown to every one whom I have consulted.

§ I know of no other flight of poetry equal to this in the whole poem. I have tried hard to persuade myself that the translation is incorrect; but in vain. The words are too plain to admit of any other meaning.



is no counting the number of Hádi *Siddhas*, with their ears cut. 423. A Hádi hid his face with the dust of cow-dung fuel; and seeing danger at hand, Mayaná began to weep.

#### THE BURDEN OF HER SONG.

424. "The apple of his mother's eyes. Alas, my child! Who took my own away?" 425. They snatched the razor from the hands of the *nápit*, and gave it into the hand of the ear-cutter. 426. Even as the ear-cutter took the razor in his hand, he cried "*Rám, Rám*" and cut both the ears of the king. 427. They fastened to the king's ear an ear-ring of crystal. They clothed him in a cloth covered with holy symbols. 428. Five Vaishnavas came and dressed the king in a *languti*. A *languti* with a string did they put upon him. 429. They placed round his neck a *Ráma* rosary. They put into his hand a gourd-platter. 430. A torn quilt, a torn *languti*, a torn (heart at) departure. All the followers of Chaitanya were collected near the door. 431. Holy Chaitanya and Nityánanda, also Rádhá, Sítá, and the High Priest of the Vaishnavas sang the Holy Lay. 432. The king's son began to weep, and cried for alms. His servant Khetu gave him alms: elephants, horses, his royal staff and umbrella. Those alms he placed with reverence at the feet of his *guru*.

#### THE GURU SPAKE.

433. "Depart, depart, O king, I give to thee a boon. Thou shalt go to the three corners of the earth, but shalt not go to Yama's dwelling-place." 434. As the king turned his head to one side, all the heavenly *Munis* returned to heaven. 435. Mayaná bathed herself in five *lotas* of water, and glad in heart she entered into her own home. 436. In a moment,\* she cooked a dish of rice and fifty curries. She touched it, and placed it in a golden dish. 437. She filled a golden vessel with water. "Eat, eat my darling. Happy and light of heart, go thou on thy pilgrimage." 438. When he saw the rice in a (golden) plate, he struck his forehead with his hand, and wept.

#### THE KING SPAKE.

439. "When I was lord of my kingdom, O my mother, then did I eat rice in many a golden dish. 440. Now I am a beggar, not worth a single *káorí*. I cannot eat from a golden plate." 441. He took a plantain leaf and cut it. Thereon he placed a little rice. 442. He took the shell of a broken gourd and from it he drank a little water. 443. He washed his face and hands with water. Then what did he do? He uttered the words "S'rí Krishna" and ate the food. 444. One mouthful, two

\* Lit. at a stroke.

mouthfuls, five mouthfuls he ate. Then he looked towards the water, which was trickling out of the broken gourd. 445. He put his face to the earth and sipped up the water, and as he did so Devī's brother S'ani\* came over his destiny. 446. S'ani and Ketu took up their abode in the king's heart. And all his body became defiled. 447. Then Mayanā wept in pitiful accents.

#### THE BURDEN OF HER SONG.

448. "My son is all my fortune. Who will make us meet again. 449. Thou art going to a far country. Thou wilt dwell in the house of a strange woman. First the householder will eat and then he will think of thee. 450. When thou seest an Atita or a Vaishnava do not thou despise him. With thy head touching the ground reverence thou him who weareth a rosary. 451. When thou shalt see the mustard plant scanty, and the *dub* grass thin; then wilt thou know that thou art in a far country."

#### THE KING SPAKE.

452. "If I see a flower, I will not pluck it. If I see a bird, I will not fling a stone at it. 453. If I see another's wife, I will not smile at her. First I will call her mother, then will I ask for alms." 454. She put sixteen *kahans* of *kāoris* in his wallet. "See that thou tellest not thy guru about these *kāoris*." 455. "In dust and ashes will I spend the money. Following the Hādi will I go to Yama's abode."

456. The hundred queens went to Khetu. But Adunā and Padunā went to their own palace. 457. In that palace, there were guards in twelve places, and thirteen *thānds*. No Atita or Vaishnava was allowed to enter that house. 458. And e'en as the two damsels entered their dwelling-place, the doors of virtue shut themselves without keys. 459. They set themselves to play at dice in silence.

#### THE QUEEN SPAKE.

460. "What day the dice will fall from my hands in disorder, I shall know that that day my husband is dead."

461. The burden of the kingdom remained in the lap of Mayanā, the king's mother. And the Hādi and the king started for a city in a far country. 462. One *kroś*, two *kroś*, five *kroś* he went. And the king's feet were cut and covered with blood.

#### THE BURDEN OF HIS SONG.

463. "Alas! Fate, sitting in a lovely place, hath written misery on my destiny." 464. One day, two days, seven days passed. Night and

\* S'ani and Ketu of course mean ill-luck. If, however, by "Devī" is meant Durgā, she is certainly not S'ani's sister.

day he journeyed on. 465. So the king left his home and went to another country, and the Háqi said, "Glory to fate. This is the fruit of my destiny."

#### THE HA'PI SPAKE.

466. "A proud word did the king speak concerning me. Verily, in a short space, I will bring him into trouble." 467. "*Tuḍu, Tuḍu*," cried he, with a terrible voice; and in the atmosphere that wondrous Háqi created a forest. 468. They passed through a small forest, and came to a great one. The spittle in the king's mouth was dried up, nor could he speak. 469. In the vacant atmosphere the Háqi went along. While the king toiled slowly along, thrusting the *jāngal* aside with his hands. 470. Prickles pierced him and thorns pierced him. His blood poured forth in streams. He could not travel further, and (in despair) the king struck his forehead with his hand.

#### THE BURDEN OF HIS SONG.

471. "To whom shall I tell my woes. Even my guru hath become pitiless." 472. More pangs he gave the king. He took him through a sandy waste. At the king's tears the Háqi's heart was touched, and he created a pleasant Kadamba tree upon the road. 473. The king went to a place deep (under the foliage) by the foot of the tree, and sleep came upon him in handfuls.

#### THE KING SPAKE.

474. "What with ploughing through water, and what with ploughing through sand, I have undergone great hardships. Place thy left thigh upon the ground, that I may rest awhile. 475. The Háqi laid his left thigh upon the ground, and the king rested his head upon it and fell asleep. 476. The Háqi cried "*Tuḍu, Tuḍu*" with a loud voice, and summoned an hundred Yamas.

#### THE HA'PI SPAKE.

477. "Hear, O ye Yamas, take heed unto my words. Build ye a road from hence to Daryápur, seven cubits broad and chest high." 478. The Yamas heard his words, nor did they delay. They departed to build the road. 479. From thence to Daryápur they built the road, seven cubits broad and chest high. 480. "*Hanumán*" he cried with a loud voice, and made them plant trees at intervals along the road. 481. He smote the king with a slap like a thunderbolt, and crying "Guru, Guru" the king arose, weeping.

#### THE HA'PI SPAKE.

482. "I have built a road with great labour. Give me twelve *káorís*, that I may buy happiness and enjoy myself. 483. I would buy and eat

twelve *kāorīs* worth of *gānjā*: then will I take thee on to Ghādapur." 484. When the pious king heard these words, he closed his ears, and cried "Rām, Rām."

#### THE KING SPAKE.

485. "I know nought of such a thing, O father guru. He who goeth with such a transgressor, will surely die. 486. Nay, nay, there is no need of binding me. Instead of twelve *kāorīs* take twelve *kāhans*, and return unto thy house." 487. The Hāḍi was in contemplation and suddenly started. 488. He went into contemplation and gazed about, and in his contemplation his eyes fell upon the sixteen *kāhans* in the king's wallet.

#### THE HA'PI SPAKE.

489. "His mother excelleth me in charms. She hath put sixteen *kāhans* of *kāorīs* in his wallet." 490. He cried "*Tuḍu, Tuḍu*" with a loud voice, and took the sixteen *kāhans* of *kāorīs*, and flew up into the sky. 491. He created two stones weighing half a *man* each, and put them into the wallet. And the pious king took his *bhāt* and began to eat. 492. "Give me, give me the *kāorīs*," he began to coax. But after saying so twice or thrice, he became angry. 493. The king opened the wallet and became amazed. Wonderful thing! No *kāorīs* were within the wallet.

#### THE BURDEN OF HIS SONG.

494. "Why do my eyes dance in my head? I know not what is written in my fate. 495. Why, why, O father guru, hast thou wrongfully given up pity? In my wallet there are no *kāorīs*. Give me, unhappy one, in pawn for the *kāorīs* I have promised." 496. Immediately the Hāḍi called his mother-earth to witness. "I call thee to witness, that he himself hath offered himself in pawn. 'Tis not the Hāḍi who hath given him." 497. He put the pious king in his wallet, and took him to the city of Dar-yāpur.

#### THE HA'PI SPAKE.

498. "A man for pawn, a man for pawn. Take him, O mother, thou seller of milk. I would pawn him for twelve *kāorīs*. I wish to get twelve *kāorīs* to eat *gānjā*."

#### THE GOWÁLINÍ SPAKE.

499. "See, see, we would see what kind of pupil this is of thine." 500. He pulled the king out by one hand, and the king arose radiant in person,

## THE GOWÁLÍNÍ SPAKE.

501. "I perceive that he is of beautiful form and accustomed to eat royal food.\* Can such as he eat in the house of a Gowálíní? 502. Fill up my milk-pail with money, and fill up thy wallet again. Leave my quarter of the town, and go thou elsewhere." 503. He seized the king by the hand, and wandered about amongst the shop lanes. 504. "A man for pawn, a man for pawn, O mother, thou seller of crushed rice" and as soon as the crushed rice-seller saw the king, she upset her stall of crushed rice. 505. She clasped him round the waist, saying, "I die (of love for thee)"; and with great difficulty the king separated himself from her. 506. "A man for pawn, a man for pawn, O mother, thou seller of turmeric. A man for pawn, a man for pawn, O mother, thou seller of *ság*. 507. A man for pawn, a man for pawn, O mother, thou seller of vetch. A man for pawn, a man for pawn, O mother, thou seller of pease." 508. And as soon as the seller of pease saw the king, she immediately called her own husband her father. 509. She upset her stall; she caught the king by the waist exclaiming "I die." 510. The crushed rice-seller arose and said to the pease-seller "You get away. Let go the waist of the king. I first caught hold of him." 511. They both caught him by the waist and began to pull; and of a sudden the king began to weep. 512. The Hádi felt pity at the tears of the king, and called on Indra with a loud cry. 513. With great noise, hail began to fall in the *bazár*. And they let go the king's waist, and every one went to her house. 514. "Don't stop up the door, don't stop up the door, O sister, seller of pease. Don't you see that I'll catch my death out here in the wet"? 515. And when the seller of pease heard that word, she made a great fuss, and left the door free for passengers. 516. The Hádi took the pestle for pounding pease, and with it began to pound the king. 517. He cut the king's nose, and his hair, and made proclamation by beat of drum. He put his hand upon the king's neck, and pushed him out from that *bazár*. 518. He left that locality, and went to Vijaya the ploughman, and stopped before him. 519. "A man for pawn, a man for pawn, O house of a *halwá*." 520. "Outwardly† he is of comely form. How can he eat in the house of a ploughman? 521. Fit for him is the house of Hírā, the harlot; but how wilt thou go within her house? 522. She hath hung a pair of drums by her door, and if the king of any quarter come to her abode, 523. And if he strike the drum one blow, she will demand a thousand rupees at the door." 524. Vijaya went away with them, and showed them the harlot's house. 525. He took down the stick and smote the drum, and by its sound his arrival was made known in the house of the harlot. 526. She

\* Lit. "a king over his *bhāt*."

† Lit. over the vessel.

began to call to her maid-servant. "The king of what country has now come? Allow him to enter, and fan him with a *chāmara*." 527. The maid-servant heard her, nor did she delay, but went into the presence of the Hāḍi.

#### THE MAID-SERVANT SPAKE.

528. "Why, Reverend Sir, hast thou come so far a distance? Why hast thou left thy throne, to lie upon the earth?"

#### THE HA'PI SPAKE.

529. "It is not bamboo oil vessels, nor *bazār* cups that I carry in my wallet. Herein have I a pupil. 530. I would pawn him for twelve *kāoris*, to buy *gānjā* that I may eat. 531. Will Hirā, the harlot, take him in pledge?"

#### THE MAID-SERVANT SPAKE.

"Let me see, let me see what sort of pupil he is." 532. He pulled him forth by one hand, and the king arose radiant in person.

#### THE BURDEN OF HER SONG.

533. "On seeing his beauty, my eyes run with tears." 534. The maid-servant told the harlot what she had heard. "The king is more beautiful in his feet than thou art in thy face. 535. The king for whom thou hast been offering sacrifices these twelve years; him thou hast found at thy very door." 536. On hearing this, the harlot did not delay, but went before the king.

#### THE HA'PI SPAKE.

537. "Hear, oh harlot, what I have to say unto thee. A good pupil is this whom I would pledge with thee. 538. I would pledge him for twelve *kāoris*, that with them I may buy *gānjā*." 539. On hearing this, the harlot did not delay, but sent to the *bazār* for a *sāul* banker. 540. She collected the paper and pens and counted out twelve *kāoris*. 541. In a clear voice, the Hāḍi told the banker to write, and he wrote the year, the date, and the word *S'ri* on the paper. 542. He wrote the name of Hirā, the harlot, on the paper and also the twelve *kāoris*. 543. He wrote the name of Dharma on the paper, and threw the pen to the Hāḍi. 544. And when that mighty Hāḍi took the pen in his hand, he uttered the words "Rām, Rām" and made his signature. 545. She counted out the twelve *kāoris* and gave them to the Hāḍi, who on his part made over the king to the harlot. 546. And from the day that the Hāḍi gave the deed into the harlot's hand, the king lay pawned with her. 547. The Muni Hāḍi tightly tied up the passions of the king and made him neither a woman nor a man. 548. When Hirā, the harlot, turned her head to one side, he

buried the twelve *káoris* in the earth. 549. And when the pious king turned his face away, he turned himself into a golden pumpkin and went to the regions of *Pátála*. 550. Beneath fourteen fathoms of water he took his magic seat, and for twelve years he stayed there in contemplation. 551. When the king turned round again, and could no longer see his Guru, he began to weep.

#### THE HARLOT SPAKE.

552. "O king, why dost thou weep? For thy sake I have been doing penance these twelve years. 553. Where art thou gone, my maid-servant? Bring me *pán* to eat\* and then bathe the king, and make him put on all the radiancy he can." 554. The maid-servant brought the king after bathing him. The harlot well knew how to spread a bed. 555. Over a coarse mat she spread fine mats as high as the chest, and over all she laid an *indra-kambal*.† 556. She made ready cloves, nutmegs and camphor for eating: so much, that there would be no counting the number of times the king would spit. 557. As soon as the pious king entered into the room, she took him in her lap, and sat him on the bed, and offered him a vessel of *pán*. 558. "Eat a *khili*‡ of *pán*, and eat a single betelnut, O king. Lift up thy head and gaze upon this luckless harlot." 559. The king was pleased in his heart when he saw the cloves, nutmegs and camphor, and at one time she gave him four or five *khilis*. 560. Once, twice, and thrice he bruised the *khili* in his fingers, and then the warning of his mother came into his remembrance. 561. "Thou art going to a far country. Thou wilt dwell in the house of a strange woman. First the householder will eat, and then he will think of thee. 562. When thou seest an *Atíta* or a *Vaishṇava* do not thou despise him. With thy head touching the ground, reverence thou him who weareth a rosary. 563. If thou seest a flower, thou shalt not pluck it. If thou seest a bird, thou shalt not break its eggs. 564. If thou seest another's wife, thou shalt not smile at her. 565. When thou shalt see the mustard plant scanty, and the *dub* grass thin, then wilt thou know that thou art in a far country." 566. When the words of his mother came into his mind, the king cried, "Rám, Rám," and flung the *khili* of *pán* away. 567. Thereupon the harlot became angry, "Why, O king of kings, dost thou not eat the *pán*? For thy sake I have been doing penance these twelve years." 568. She took five *khilis* in her own hand, and put them in the pious king's mouth, but he cast them out, saying "*thu, thu*." 569. As the king moved

\* See note to v. 373.

† A kind of blanket.

‡ See note to v. 53.



from place to place and sat down, the harlot followed him and sat close up to his body. 570. She began to scatter white and red sandal-wood over his body, but the king began to call her "Mother, mother", and she replied "My heart doth not let me, O king, be called 'mother' by thee." 571. The harlot placed the king's hand upon her heart, but he called her mother, and asked her to suckle him. 572. Once, twice, and thrice the king became angered. He even three or four times abused the harlot.

#### THE BURDEN OF HIS SONG.

573. "I tell thee the words of thy heart. Unholy is such love. Vainly hast thou lit thy wax candle, and passed a waking night. I am blessed by Rāma; and Kubujā was not (loved by Kṛishṇa) as Rādhā was. 574. A harlot hath no loveliness within her, her beauty is nought but copious locks of hair. She is but a gift fit for a barber, like the *dhaturā*\* flower. 575. I see a harlot's dealings to be like a ferry-boat. Men pay *kāoris* at the landing-stage, and pass over. 576. I see thee, O harlot, to be like traffic in things of no value. Thy beauty is like that of a dark well. Low caste *hādis* and *doms* as well as brāhmins, bathe (to wash off the defilement) after touching thee." 577. For four watches, the harlot argued, but still the pious king addressed her as "Mother." 578. Once, twice, and thrice did the harlot become angry, at last she kicked the pious king off the bedstead. 579. She called for her maid-servant, who turned the king out with her hand on his neck. 580. The harlot's dress was a linen *sāri* bright as fire; but the king's became a knotted rope. 581. Unsifted rice and brinjals full of seeds she gave him; brinjals full of seeds, and he burned them, and made chutney of them. A pitiless harlot was she; she forbade him salt and oil. 582. In the cold month of Māgb, she gave him an old tattered *sāri*, and a goat hut to live in. 583. *Bhāngi* ropes she gave him, and a *bhāngi* stick, and two water-jars. Twelve loads of water did he measure out the livelong day. 584. If one amongst the twelve was not supplied, in payment for it seven men would beat him. 585. He took *bhāngi* ropes and a *bhāngi* stick and two vessels of water; and he went to fill them at the Karátōyā river. 586. One, two, or three loads he filled. The whole day the Mahārāja was carrying the twelve loads. 587. Seven vile men seized the king and laid him on his back and then the harlot would put on her feet golden pattens. 588. Hírā, the harlot, after bathing would laugh gleefully, and proudly stand upon the king's chest. 589. After bathing her body, she shone with excessive brilliancy, and she took off her wet clothes, and put on a dry linen *sāri*. 590. The wet clothes she would wring out over the king's face. At midday the king would cover his face and

\* Fair to look upon, but has no scent.

weep. She then would seize him by the neck and thrust him out. 591. What with to-day and what with to-morrow twelve years passed. 592. He took *bhángi* ropes and a *bhángi* stick and two water-jars, and went to draw water at the river Karátotyá. 593. On the bank of the river, the king became giddy and fell into the river. "Alas! I heard not the words of Aduná and Paduná, and have lost my life through attending to the voice of an old mother."

594. Even as the pious king mentioned the names of the damsels, the dice fell from their hands in disarray. And lamentably they began to weep. 595. "Twelve years have passed and my husband doth not let his voice be heard, and now the thirteenth year has come. 596. To-day why have the dice fallen in disorder? Of a surety my husband is dead and gone."

#### THE BURDEN OF HER SONG.

597. "My love, how may I go forth? To-morrow at dawn and in a lonely place will I tell thee the tale of my woes. He playeth his pipe in Vrindavana: and my heart saith unto me, let me go and see Krishna." 598. The two sisters went out to the theatrum of the temple in tears. And a jay and a parrot from their cage heard them weeping.

#### THE JAY SPAKE.

599. "O parrot, my elder brother, let us see why our mother weepeth." 600. They united their strength and burst the bars of their cage, and through the broken walls they flew away. 601. After resting\* for a moment on the straw of the thatch, they each alighted on the arm of the damsels. "Why, why, mother, art thou crying in the theatrum?" 602. The damsel said, "Listen to me, ye two dear birds. Your father should have returned according to his agreement after twelve years. It is now the thirteenth year and he hath not come. 603. Why did the dice fall in disorder from our hands? Of a surety I believe that your father is dead and gone." 604. "Mother, let us two loose. We will search where our father is." 605. "Speed ye, speed ye, my pretty children, to a far country, and find out where your father is." 606. The birds made obeisance at the feet of their mistress, and flew away in a southern direction. 607. For seven days the birds flew, but found no trace of the king. 608. On the banks of the river there were a banyan and a píppal tree, and the birds flew and rested on a branch of the banyan tree. 609. The birds flew from the western branch to the eastern branch, and underneath them passed the king bearing his burden. 610. He descended into the water and cleansed his teeth, and over his head the birds began to hover.

\* Lit. Scratching.

## THE BIRDS SPAKE.

611. "Art thou the king Gopí Chandra? We two brothers have come for news of thee." 612. He stretched forth his arm, and the two birds settled down upon it. 613. The eyes of the king flowed with affection, as he commenced the tale of his woes. 614. He plucked the leaves of some wild plants (that grew by), and with his teeth he mended a reed pen. 615. He cut his left thigh with his little finger, and wrote a letter with the blood. All his woes he wrote within it. 616. "If thou art a good mother, thou wilt rescue me. If thou art a bad mother, thou wilt leave me in sin." "This letter give ye to your grandmother." 617. The birds made obeisance to the king and flew off to Mayaná's abode. 618. They made a hole in the roof and threw in the letter "See, see, oh Grandam, see if thy head\* is in this?" 619. If thou art a good mother thou wilt rescue him." 620. She opened the envelope and began to read: and lamentably the birds began to weep.

## THE BURDEN OF HER SONG.

621. "My son left me in the morning. I fear that he hath died in the fierce heat of the sun." 622. Mayaná went into contemplation and gazed around, and her eyes fell upon the Hádi sitting beneath fourteen fathoms of water. 623. She brought into play her magic art called *kharupá* (or cutting), and she cut away the Hádi's seat of contemplation and himself. 624. He began to float away through the cold sea; but Mayaná seized him by the hair and pulled him on land. 625. She struck him a slap forcible as a thunderbolt; and the Hádi who was still in contemplation got up with a start. 626. In his contemplation the Hádi gazed around, and his eyes fell upon Mayaná. 627. "O sister, I am going to the king. I will first rescue thy son, and then will I eat my *gánjá*."

## MAYANÁ' SPAKE.

628. "If I find that my son hath learned only a few charms, I will burn thee, O Hádi, to ashes, and send thee to Yama's house." 629. The Hádi started, and arrived at the *ghát* where the king was sitting. 630. As soon as the king saw the Hádi's face, he laid down the two water-jars and broke them. 631. He divided his hair in the middle and fell at the feet of the Hádi. 632. Thereupon the Hádi put him into his wallet and carried him off to the harlot's house. 633. When he arrived there, he uttered a loud cry, and the whole city began to quake with a rumbling noise. 634. The harlot said to her maid-servant "Daughter, see who it be. If it be a beggar, send him away." 635. The maid-servant hastened to the door and when she saw the Hádi she returned to her mistress. 636.

\* *i. e.*, if this concerneth thee.

She said unto the harlot, "It is not an *Atíta*, but the *Háđi* the lord of Lanka." 637. When the harlot heard this, what did she do? She went inside the house and hid herself. 638. The harlot said to herself "I am hidden." But the mighty *Háđi* saw her by his power of contemplation, and grasped his staff. 639. "I tell thee my staff, and pay thou heed unto my words. Bind *Hirá*, the harlot, and bring her forth." 640. The staff received one order as if it were a thousand, and with a roar it entered the harlot's house. 641. It thrust the harlot forth, and then the *Háđi* took up the twelve *káorís*. 642. The harlot brought forth the deed executed twelve years ago, and he counted into her hands the twelve *káorís*. 643. She gave the deed into his hand, and the *Háđi* said, "*Rám, Rám*," as he tore it up. 644. The *Háđi* brought a cauldron of Ganges water, and seven vile men seized the harlot and threw her on her back. 645. He put on the king's foot pattens weighing twenty-two maunds, and stood the king upon the harlot's breast. 646. As he swayed upon her in mounting, he crushed the harlot's thirty-two ribs into small pieces. 647. As soon as the *Háđi* sprinkled water on the king's head, saying "*Rám, Rám*," all his sin was put away from him. 648. After bathing his body, he shone with excessive brightness, and he took off his wet clothes and put on a dry linen *dhutí*.

#### THE HA'PI SPAKE.

649. "O prince, pay heed unto my words. For twelve years the harlot hath done penance in her house. Do thou fulfil to some extent her desires. 650. Go forth, O *Hirá* the harlot, I give to thee a boon. Become a bat within the kingdom." 651. The Muni's word was not spoken in vain: she became a bat, and flew up to heaven. 652. He caught hold of the harlot in his left hand, and divided her into two parts. 653. The forepart flew up to heaven, but he cast the rear-part into the sea. 654. As she fell into the sea she cried "*dohái*."

#### THE HA'PI SPAKE.

655. "Go forth, O *Hirá*, thou harlot, I give to thee a boon. Become a minnow, and dwell within the water. 656. Go forth, go forth, O *Chápái*, thou maid-servant, I give to thee a boon. Become a harlot, and live within the kingdom. 657. In thy youth earn thy living out of the work of thy caste; and in thy old age, take a *páik* for thy husband. He will beat thee and kick thee and break thy thirty-two ribs. 658. Go forth, O wealth of *Hirá*, I give to thee a boon. Come into the town of *Kholáháti*, and be a petty *bazár* made of tiles." 659. He utterly destroyed *Hirá*'s house, and then took the king away to teach him magic arts.

## THE HA'PI SPAKE.

660. "I say unto thee, O king, and take thou heed unto my words. Go thou into the market and beg for alms. Let us sit together, as *guru* and disciple, in the town of Pardá."

## THE KING SPAKE.

661. "I am a king's son, and have become a Brahmáchári. How can I beg? I know not how to do it." 662. So the Hádi gave him three or four directions, and the king took a platter in his hand and went to beg.

## THE HA'PI SPAKE.

663. "Victory to fate, this is the fruit of my works. I have in my house a pupil, beautiful in every limb. He will drive the daughters-in-law and the daughters of the householders mad. 664. He changed himself into Nengadi the *Kotwál* and went about fastening the door bars in every house. 665. He is bending forward entreating for alms, and they are setting the dogs at him. He will not get any alms, and will return to the Hádi." 666. The king went about begging, but the Hádi cried out with a loud voice. 667. And from heaven there came down at his call five damsels, who placed five dishes of food before him. 668. He ate his own share, and put aside that of the king with care, and in it he put two and a half times sixteen scores of charms. 669. He mixed it with spittle and phlegm, and added to it the juice of refined\* sugar. *Skil* seeds, *kelá* seeds and *durá* seeds he added to the mess. 670. Meanwhile the pious king went about crying for alms. 671. He bent forward entreating for alms, and they set dogs at him. He was unsuccessful in his quest, and returned to the presence of the Hádi.

## THE KING SPAKE.

672. "O guru, the people of thy country I have seen to be pitiless and stony-hearted. They gave neither alms nor charity, and set the dogs at me."

## THE HA'PI SPAKE.

673. "Thou hast not obtained alms. It mattereth not, my son. Accept the leavings of my food. I met a pious woman on the road. 674. She gave me a little rice. I have eaten my share, and carefully put some aside for thee." 675. With tottering steps the king drew near the food. And when he saw it he struck his forehead with his hand. 676. A rice which my dogs would turn aside from; such have I, a king, come to eat. 677. "*Tudu, Tudu*," said the Hádi with a great voice; and the king felt an-hungered as if he had fasted for twelve years. 678. He took

\* Lit. covered.

his first mouthful with expressions of disgust, but it came to his taste like sweet ambrosia. 679. When again he put forth his hand to take a mouthful, he snatched at it, thrusting aside the Háḍi's hand, and took two and a half mouthfuls at once. And therefrom he learnt two and a half times sixteen scores of charms. 680. By his charms in his meditation he bound up his top-knot as a woman ties it, and embraced the mother of Godá Yama. 681. By his charms, in his meditation, he tied up his top-knot as a man ties it, and lamed Godá Yama himself. 682. The Háḍi uttered the words "*Tuḍu, Tuḍu*" with a loud voice and thereupon the affairs of his home came in the king's remembrance.

#### THE KING SPAKE.

683. "Give me leave, O guru, and let me journey forth in the bark of virtue. Travelling in a chariot of light, would I see my wife and home, and then return to thee." 684. He placed his staff in the hands of the king, who thereupon fell at the feet of the Háḍi. 685. The king carried the stick over his shoulder (although it weighed) eighty maunds; and started off for his own home. 686. The mighty Háḍi laughed aloud, and the king left him and started on his journey. 687. He reached his palace, and cried "*Tuḍu, Tuḍu*" with a roar like a lion. The damsels were asleep but now awoke. 688. Without being struck, the gongs at the gate sounded; and without fire being applied, milk and rice began to boil. 689. In all the little *bazárs* the lamps began to blaze. The king began to float in a sea of delight.\* 690. A swarm of bees flew up around his head. The king saw the delights of holy Vṛindávana before his eyes. And all pregnant women gave birth to their offsprings.

#### THE QUEEN SPAKE.

##### THE BURDEN OF HER SONG.

691. "A pilgrim hath come, and standeth in my door. 692. Where is the maid-servant. I would first eat *pán*,† and then (would I enquire) whence the pilgrim hath come, and dismiss him." 693. The maid-servant made ready alms. 694. "Take alms, O reverend pilgrim, I am the maid of a householder, and would return within the house."

#### THE KING SPAKE.

695. "I am a pilgrim from the south: I call myself a Brahmáchári. I cannot take alms from the humble hands of a maid-servant. 696. If a lady give me alms, then this pilgrim's son can take it."

\* Lit. coldness.

† See note to v. 373.



## THE MAID-SERVANT SPAKE.

697. "Wait awhile, O pilgrim, thou who sittest and beggest shamelessly. Long will it be before thou obtainest alms, even though thou criest for them." 698. The maid-servant went weeping to the damsel. "He is a pilgrim from the south, and calleth himself Brahmáchári. 699. He taketh not alms from the hands of a maid-servant, but saith, 'Let the ladies give me alms.'" 700. When the two damsels heard this they took alms and arose. Behold, without a key the door opened of itself. 701. Aduná and Paduná went out with the alms. "Take alms, take alms, O reverend pilgrim. We are the daughters-in-law of a householder, and would return within the house."

## THE KING SPAKE.

702. "I am a pilgrim from the east. My name is Brahmáchári. I cannot take alms from the hand of a woman. 703. If the umbrella\* that shadeth thy head can give me alms, then can this pilgrim's son accept them." 704. The ladies pointed out the ring upon his finger. "We see a woman's ring upon thy hand. 705. Thou art the umbrella of my head. Thou art a pilgrim, and I am a pilgrim, pupils of one guru."

## THE KING SPAKE.

706. "One evening I stopped at a house, and they gave to a man *thákari kálái dāl* and *áus* rice. 707. He ate it greedily, and was attacked with cholera and died. 708. First one man took something† off his body, and then another; and as my share they gave me these two rings."

## THE QUEEN SPAKE.

709. "Where is my maid-servant? First will she eat *pán*.‡ Then shall she cut the rope which ties the elephant. 710. If this be my husband, he will recognize him. If he be a pilgrim from the south, he will trample him to death." 711. She cut the elephant's rope, and the elephant came from a distance. 712. While yet afar off he made obeisance to the king. And when he approached, he lifted him on to his shoulder with his trunk. 713. The elephant awaited awhile and stood steady, that the damsels might approach. 714. The king descended from the back of the elephant, and the damsels took him by the hand and led him within the house. Amid laughter and jokes, they began to speak familiarly with him.

\* *I. e.*, thy husband.

† So explained to me. It means literally, "First one gave a blow, and then another gave the last blow."

‡ See note to v. 373.



## THE QUEEN SPAKE.

715. "How hath the Guru taught thee magic arts? Let us see how thou wilt approach thy mother." 716. He changed himself into a golden bee, and flew to his mother's palace. 717. He appeared in Mayaná's house, and, uttering a loud cry, made her spinning-wheel fly up into the air. 718. But Mayaná also was skilled in charms, and with a jump she seized the spinning-wheel by its head.

## MAYANA' SPAKE.

719. "Come, come my son, the darling of an unhappy one." 720. The king divided his hair and fell at the feet of his mother. 721. He sent for Mathu the barber. He began to clear off his vow,\* and the Bráhmans came, and collected materials for sacrifice. 722. The king began to perform the celebration of the office of *sankirttana* and gave away the contents of seven barns in charity. 723.† He himself crossed the Vaitarāṇi on the tail of a cow, and his ancestors crossed (the river of life) into paradise. 724. Mayaná bathed herself with five *loṭas* of water, and laughing returned quickly‡ into the house. 725. After cooking a dish of rice and fifty different curries, she cleaned three (brass plates) with tamarind juice. 726. Mayaná summoned the Hāḍi with a loud voice, and he immediately came and stood before her. 277. The first plate she gave to the Hāḍi. The second she took herself, and the third she gave to the king. 728. After washing their hands and mouth, what did they do? They uttered the holy name of Kṛishṇa, and, beginning their meal, ate one, two, and five mouthfuls each. 729. After eating and drinking, their hearts were glad, and they washed their mouths with water from a golden vessel. 730. Then the Hāḍi, who came from paradise, placed his feet on the head of the king, and returned to his own place. 731. They cleaned the king's throne; and Hanumán took the staff and umbrella of royalty, and marched about; and the throne-elephant approached dressed in his trappings. 732. The king clothed himself magnificently, and the elephant mounted him on his shoulders by his trunk. 733. He took the king to the throne, accompanied by the music of drums and trumpets; and bowed himself down before it, and with his trunk placed him upon the seat. 734. Then the king immediately fixed the land revenue at one and a half scores of *káorís*, (as it had been in old days) and ever since reigned happily within his kingdom.

\* By cutting his nails and hair which he had allowed to grow.

† This is most essentially a "*Satya yuger kathá*." What does it mean?

‡ Lit. At a bound.

## APPENDIX.

The following are the lines referred to in the note to verse 264. I give them as an example of the very peculiar nature of the dialect. It is difficult, and requires a very literal translation, which I give.

The word for "fresh butter" appears in two forms,—ननि and नवनि ; and it is worth noting how the latter has remained almost unchanged from the time of the *Aitareya Bráhmaṇa*.\*

श्यामर वांशीरे मन सजालुरे ।  
 रया २ नयान भोरे ॥  
 माय वल्लेरे यादु उत्तरे ।  
 गभिन पुष्पर पालङ्क ।  
 पेये पार कत निन्द ॥  
 माय वचने यादु उठिया वसिल ।  
 मेलिते ना पारे आंखि घसिते लागिल ॥  
 यादु गेल दिनाने यशदा रल घरे ।  
 एखिना नवनि वाटे घरे २ ॥  
 दिनान करिया घरे नागि याय ।  
 उत्तम सिङ्गसन वसिते दिल् माय ।  
 आनन्दित हया यादु चिर ननि खाय ॥  
 चिर ननि खाया यादु तुष्ट हलो मन ।  
 उत्तम भिङ्गार जले करे आश्रवन† ॥

O the pipe of Śyām (Kṛishṇa). My mind whirls, my eyes continually run with tears. The mother said "O Yádu, how art thou sleeping on the deep bed of flowers in the north?" Hearing the mother's voice, Yádu sat up ; he could not open his eyes, and began to rub them. Yádu goes to bathe ; Yasódá remains in the house, and divides out this rice-milk and fresh butter.

After finishing his bath, he goes towards the house—his mother gives him a grand throne to sit upon ; being pleased, Yádu eats the milk, and the fresh butter.

After eating the milk and fresh butter, Yádu's mind becomes satisfied ; and he washes his mouth with water in a grand golden pot.

\* Ait. Br. I. 3. नवतीतेनाभ्यङ्गन्ति ॥

† एखिन = ए चिर ॥ ‡ आश्रवन = आचमन ॥

*The Lokanīti translated from the Burmese Paraphrase.*—By LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B. S. C., *Offg. Wing Officer, 1st Goorkhas.*

#### INTRODUCTION.

There is probably no book so universally known to the Burmese as the Lokanīti, pronounced in Burmese Lawkanidi. It is read in all schools of any standing whether they belong to the Government or to enterprising Hpongyis or Priests. It has been copied into hundreds of palm-leaf MSS with more or less accuracy according to the learning of the various scribes, and about five years ago the Roman Catholic Missionaries published it at Bassein in Burmese and Pāli, and soon afterwards the Government itself published an edition of it in Burmese and Pāli in an issue of 10,000 copies. The book is as its title signifies a collection of Proverbs or Maxims on subjects of every day life, and as it now stands, is not I think of any great antiquity. It has a semi-religious character which it bears in common with many Buddhist works of a similar nature, and seems to belong to a series of books of Proverbs, though of very different dates to it, which are known respectively to the Burmese as the Dammanidi, Yāzanidi, and Lawkanidi, *i. e.*, Books of Proverbs concerning the Law and Religion ("the Law" having much the same signification to a Buddhist as it had to the Jews of the Bible), the King and Common Life. These titles are in Pāli respectively Dhammanīti, Rājanīti and Lokanīti.

I was never able in Burmah to find out much about the history of this book which is professedly merely a collection of passages from older religious works, although I have personally and through the kindness of several friends made many enquiries from the Burmese Sayās or learned men. According to one account, it was written originally (date unknown) in Sanskrit (? Pāli) by the Pōngnā (Brahman) Sānnēkgyaw (Burmese name) and paraphrased into Burmese in 1196 Burmese Era (= 1826 A. D.) by the Hpōngyi U Pōk of the Mahā Oung Myē Bōng Sān Ok Kyoung (the Great Brickbuilt Monastery in the Sacred Place) at Ava. This U Pōk's name as priest was Sēk-kān-da-bi, to which the king of Ava added the titles of Thīri Thāddamma-daza, Mahā Damma-yāza Guru, (= Sanskrit, Sri Saddharmadhaja, Mahā Dharmarāja Guru) or the True Teacher of the Law, the Great High Priest, Master of the Law. Again one of my correspondents writes that the author was a priest "with no very extraordinary knowledge of Pāli" who either collected the maxims from old books or what is more probable collected some of them and added others of his own composition. This opinion is corroborated by the unequal merit of the original Pāli verses, and by the many grammatical and other errors observa-

ble in them even upon a superficial examination. Lastly in one of the MSS. in the Bassein District there is a preface partly in Burmese and partly in Pāli, according to the usual custom, which was forwarded to me. This contains much the same information as the account above given, and is almost identical with what is given as the last or 165th sloka of the Government printed edition of the *Lawkanīdi*, a rendering of which will be found at the end of the following translation of the whole work. From these sources of information it is difficult to tell whether the book was compiled or only revised by the Hpôngyī Sēkkāndabī, but I think the latter is probably the correct assumption.

The *Lokanīti* is divided into seven khandas or chapters, each containing a series of proverbs on the subject of the chapters. These subjects are (1) the Wise, (2) the Good, (3) the Wicked and Foolish, (4) Friendship, (5) Women, (6) Kings, (7) Miscellaneous Subjects. In the first of these chapters, and in fact throughout the whole work, there is a strong religious element, but they contain at the same time many spicy bits of shrewd worldly wisdom, while the quaintness of the similes with which the proverbs abound should I think of themselves attract attention.

In reading the rendering of this book it must be borne in mind that it is a Buddhist work, and that such words and expressions as "the truth," "the Law," "God," "angels," "the world to come" and so on, have a Buddhist and not a Christian signification. However, it bears so strong a resemblance to our own "Proverbs of Solomon, the son of David, King of Israel," that I thought it advisable to translate it into Biblical language, deeming that the Buddhist mode of religious thought would be more forcibly brought before English readers by that than by any other mode.

Lastly, when making the following translation in 1875, I had the assistance of Moung Shwê Thā, a well-known "Munshi" of Rangoon.

## THE BOOK OF THE PROVERBS OF COMMON LIFE.

*Glory be to him that is blessed, that is holy, that is the Author of all Truth.\**

### CHAPTER I.

1. Making my obeisance to God,† the Law, and the Assembly of the Perfect,‡ I have written in one book, called the Book of the Proverbs of

\* This is the usual heading of Buddhist books. In Pāli it runs as follows: "Na-mo tassa bhagavato arahato sammā Sambuddhassa."

† Or Buddha or the All Wise.

‡ Or to the Three Precious Things. The "Three Precious Things" are (in Pāli) Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, which are translated by Childers in his *Khuddaka Pāṭha* as Buddha, the Law, and the Church.

Common Life, many things from out of many holy books ; which things I have briefly set forth in the language of the Scriptures.\*

2. The Book of Proverbs that speaketh of divers matters is unto man as an heart ;† as father and mother, as a teacher, as a friend ; therefore he that knoweth this book is as one that hath seen and heard much and becometh excellent and wise.

3. He that is idle from whence shall he obtain knowledge ? He that is without knowledge, from whence shall he obtain riches ? He that is without riches, from whence shall he obtain friends ? He that is without friends, from whence shall he obtain happiness ? He that is without happiness, how shall he do well ? He that hath not done well, how shall he attain unto the perfect state ?‡

4. There is no wealth like unto knowledge, for thieves cannot steal it : in this world knowledge is a friend and leadeth unto happiness in the world to come.§

5. Think not the wisdom that seeth and heareth a little thing, and ponder this in thy mind. It is a drop of water that falling often times on an ant-hill filleth it.||

6. Think it not a small thing to be learned in thy books or with thy hands : if thou learn well but one of these only thou canst live.

7. Not every mountain hath precious stones ; not every elephant hath a charm ;¶ not every forest hath the sandal-wood ; not every place hath a wise man.\*\*

8. Surely he that is searching after knowledge should go with much yearning to the place where he heareth the wise man is that is filled with knowledge.

9. By degrees wisdom is learnt : by degrees riches are gotten : by

\* Or Pali Language or Magadhi Language. The Pāli language is literally "the language of the Scriptures." The following is from Childers' account of the Pāli language—"The true or geographical name of the Pāli language is Māgadhi, 'Magadhese language', or Magadhabhāsā, language of the Magadha people." The word pāli in Sanskrit means "line, row, series" and by the South Buddhists is extended to mean the series of books which form the text of the Buddhist Scriptures. Thence it comes to mean the text of the Scriptures as opposed to the commentaries, and at last any text or even portion of a text of either Scriptures or commentaries. Pālibhāsā therefore means "the language of the texts," which is of course equivalent to saying "Māgadhi language." Childers' Pāli Diet. Preface, footnote.

† Or solid thing, or pith, or core, or best part.

‡ Or the night of perfect rest, or nirvāna, or nêgbàn.

§ Or life to follow.

|| Or hill of white ants.

¶ Or charm against danger.

\*\* Or a wise man of great fame, or a wise man of the Council of the King.

degrees he climbeth that climbeth a mountain : by degrees desire is appeased : by degrees anger cometh : by degrees are these five things.

10. The knowledge of seeing and hearing : the knowledge of the statutes\* : the knowledge of reckoning : the knowledge of carpentry : the knowledge of the Books of Proverbs : the knowledge of healing by charms : the knowledge of music : the knowledge of throwing : the knowledge of shooting with the bow : the knowledge of the ancient writings : † the knowledge of medicine : the knowledge of jesting : the knowledge of the stars : ‡ the knowledge of juggling : the knowledge of the Book of Words : § the knowledge of the arts of messengers : the knowledge of the ways of speech : || the knowledge of charms : these are the eighteen kinds of knowledge.

11. In the world if none asketh aught of the wise man he is like a drum that is not beaten ; if any asketh aught of him then his wisdom floweth forth as the rain : but the ignorant man whether any asketh aught or asketh not alway talketh much.

12. In the world the knowledge that is only in the books, ¶ or the riches in the hand of another, when thou hast cause to use them, then the knowledge that is only in the books thou canst not call knowledge nor the riches in the hand of another riches.

13. In the world by the stalk of the water-lily thou shouldest know the water whether it be deep or shallow : by his deeds and the manner of his speech thou shouldest know a man whether he be base-born or of high birth : by his words thou shouldest know a man whether he be wise or a fool : by the green herb and the parched thou shouldest know the land whether it be rich or poor.

14. In the world he that hath a little knowledge thinketh that little knowledge much and is proud : wherefore is it thus ? A young frog that hath not seen the sea thinketh the well wherein he dwelleth to be a great water.

15. In the world if a man gather not knowledge in his first age : if he gather not riches in his second age : if he keep not the law in his third age : how shall he begin these things in his fourth age ?

16. My beloved children, learn knowledge and wisdom : wherefore are ye idle ? My beloved children, learn knowledge and wisdom every day. He that hath not knowledge and wisdom becometh the servant of another and rightly unto him that hath knowledge and wisdom is homage paid in the world.

17. In the world the mother is an enemy to her children, likewise the father is an enemy to his children ; wherefore is it so ? In the time of their

\* Dammathāt.

§ Or Sānchān.

† Or Purānas.

|| Or Thādda.

‡ Or Vedas.

¶ Or on the palm-leaves.

youth they make them not to learn knowledge : therefore their place is not in the midst of the assembly, as the place of the bittern\* is not in the midst of the wild-duck. Because they make them not to learn knowledge are they called their enemies.

18. Doth any sharpen the thorn that groweth in the valley ? my son,† it becometh sharp of itself. My son,† hath any given his keen eyes to the deer ? my son,† they are keen of themselves. Doth any give the sweet smell to the lily that is in the mud ? My son,† the smell is sweet of itself. Doth any teach his good manners to the child of high birth ? My son,† he must teach them to himself.

19. The betel-nut that is without lime hath an ill-savour : he that hath not riches hath an ill-savour when he putteth him on ornaments : that which is eaten without salt hath an ill-savour : he that hath not knowledge hath an ill-savour when he writeth a book.‡

20. He that listeneth and marketh carefully with his might becometh filled full of knowledge. By learning knowledge increaseth : from the knowledge that is learnt cometh understanding.§ He that hath understanding of that he should know hath happiness ever with him.||

21. In the world both unto the ox and to the man is the appetite and lust and sleep, but learning is unto the man alone ; wherefore if thou fall short of learning thou becomest as the ox.

22. In the world there is no friend like knowledge : there is no enemy like disease : there is no lover like unto thyself : there is no strength like unto fate.

23. In the world the place of the duck is not in the midst of the crows : neither is the place of the lion in the midst of the oxen ; neither the place of the horse in the midst of the asses : nor the place of the wise man in the midst of fools.

24. Surely though the ignorant man sit at the feet of the wise all his days he knoweth not the law : wherefore is it so ? It is even as the ladle knoweth not the taste of the pottage.

25. Surely he that is wise if he sit at the feet of the wise even for a moment, quickly will he know the law : wherefore is it so ? It is even as the tongue knoweth the taste of the pottage.

26. The strong man goeth not to the battle if he be not armed ; likewise the wise man speaketh not but according to the scriptures ; even as the merchant that goeth on a journey afar goeth not without companions ; nor journeyeth any anywhither by himself.¶

27. In the world, if he lose his wealth, if there be sorrow in his mind,

\* Or paddy-bird.

† Or Sir, or my masters.

‡ Or sacred verse.

§ Or the meanings are known.

|| Or beareth happiness.

¶ Or without companions.



if there be evil in his house, if any deceive him, if any mock him ; the wise man telleth not of these things.

28. In the world he that knoweth what he should say whatsoever happeneth ; that knoweth whom he should love ; that knoweth how to be angry : the same is called a wise man.

29. He that would eat of good things without money ; he that would fight without strength ; he that would dispute without knowledge : these are like unto madmen.

30. Going often times unto the house of another, not being called ; disputing often times with another, not being questioned ; being proud of his own conceit : these three things are a sign of the mean man.

31. He that is not comely babbleth much : so he that hath a little wisdom sheweth it publiely : so the pot that is not filled with water troubleth the water :\* so the cow that giveth not milk kicketh.

32. The young frog when he sitteth him down† thinketh, Now am I a lion, but when the crow snatcheth him up he coaxeth him saying, Friend, friend : likewise the fool that hath no wisdom thinketh himself wise, but when the wise man asketh him a question, then he speaketh unto him kindly saying, My lord, my lord.

33. Because the young frog sitteth in the like manner, shalt thou say, It is a lion ? because the pig grunteth in the like manner shalt thou say, It is a leopard ? because the cat hath the like colour and form shalt thou say, It is a tiger ? because their form appeareth the same in thine eyes shalt thou say, All wise men are equal in knowledge ?

34. No ruler is satisfied with his wealth ; so also is no wise man satisfied with the good word : as the eye is not surfeited by looking on the beloved, nor the sea surfeited with water.

35. It is not right that he fail in wisdom and learning that hath come to a full age, if he be of them that are noble. It is even as the acacia flower‡ that hath no smell.

36. In the world though a man be base-born he becometh a minister of the king ; though a man be a fool's son he becometh wise ; though a man be the son of him that hath no riches his wealth becometh abundant : therefore be ye not scoffers of men.

37. Whoso learneth much by his yearning after knowledge cannot interpret that which he hath learnt, as the dumb cannot tell that which he hath seen in his dreams.

38. The potter striketh not the pot to break it, but that it may be-

\* Or troubleth the water by shaking.

† Or sitteth on his haunches as a lion.

‡ Or agati flower or the beautiful acacia flower.

come goodly ; so the teacher beateth not the scholar to make him miserable, but that he may increase in knowledge and wisdom he beateth him.

39. If any bind the flower of the periwinkle tree in the leaf of the butea tree, then to him it is not the flower of the periwinkle tree only that hath a sweet smell, for the leaf of the butea tree likewise smelleth sweetly : therefore it behoveth to follow both the wise man and them that cleave to him. Here endeth the book concerning them that are wise.

## CHAPTER II.

1. Be ye companions with the righteous and keep ye company with the upright : the upright man knowing the law of the just becometh excellent and is not wicked.

2. Forsake the company of the wicked, but cleave unto the righteous for he is worthy of companionship. Work righteousness day and night, remembering alway that all things change continually.\*

3. The fruit of the water fig tree when it is ripe without is red, but within it is altogether full of flies : as it is with these so is it with the heart of the wicked.

4. The fruit of the jaca† tree when it is ripe without seemeth covered with thorns, but within it is full of sweetness : as it is with these even so is it with the heart of the righteous.

5. In the world the sandal-wood though it be dead‡ loseth not the sweet smell ; neither loseth the elephant his comeliness in the eyes of men on the place of battle ; nor the sugar-cane his sweetness in the mill : even so he that is wise and good forsaketh not the law though he become poor and wretched.

6. That which is called a lion though he be an-hungred eateth not of any green thing ; that which is called a lion though he become lean eateth not of the flesh of the elephant : for being noble he keepeth the law of the noble.§ So he that is born noble though he become poor doeth not that which is not noble.

7. In the world the sandal-wood|| is sweet, and sweeter than the sandal-wood is the moon ; but sweeter than sandal-wood and moon is the righteous word of a righteous man.

8. Let not the words of the righteous transgress even for a moment, saying, Behold ! the sun that hath rays innumerable riseth in the West : Myinmo¶ boweth his head : or the fires of hell are cold, or the lily flowereth on the mountain-top.

\* Or that the state of life changeth continually.

† Or jack-fruit tree.

‡ Or dried up.

§ Or guardeth his nobility.

|| Or almug tree.

¶ Or Mount Myin-mo or Mount Meru.

9. The cool shade of a tree is sweet ; and sweeter than the shadow of the tree is the shadow of thy family, thy father and thy mother ; and sweeter than this is the shadow of the learned ; and sweeter yet than this, is the shadow of the king : but very much more sweet is the sweetness of the law, that is called the shadow of the good God.

10. As the humble-bee desireth the flower, so loveth the righteous to be of good report : as the fly hankereth after all manner of rottenness, so longeth the wicked man after sin.

11. He that hath a wicked mother speaketh wickedness, and the son of a wicked father worketh wickedness : but if his father and his mother be both of them wicked, then both that which he saith and that which he doth becometh evil.

12. He that hath an excellent mother speaketh righteously, and the son of a good father worketh righteousness : if his father and his mother be both of them good then all that he saith and all that he doth becometh excellent.

13. There is need of the brave man in the place of battle : there is need of the skilful word in the time of wrath : the friend is wanted in the time of eating : or if there be any trouble before thee, then there is need of the wise man.

14. When one dog seeth another he showeth his teeth that he may oppress him : in the like manner when the wicked man seeth one that is righteous he vexeth him that he may cause him hurt.

15. In the beginning the foolish man of himself doeth not that which he hath to do, neither maketh he another man to do it : then doeth it carelessly in haste and sorroweth afterward.

16. In the world he that turneth away wrath is not troubled even for a little, and God, beside other good men, praiseth him that is grateful. It behoveth every one to be patient of the angry word, and him that is thus patient God, beside other good men, praiseth, saying, Behold ! this man is good.

17. In the world he is miserable that must live in a narrow place full of uncleanness ; and more miserable than he is he that must live among his enemies that love him not ; but yet more than he is he miserable that must live amid the ungrateful.

18. Teach them continually that thou shouldest teach, and keep them away from evil-doing. Is not this the good word ? Let him that is instructed love the upright man that instructeth him, but let him not love the unjust man that is wicked.

19. Honour him that is greater than thou and thou shalt be rewarded : keep thou the brave separate one from the other and thou shalt conquer : make thou a little present to him that is lesser than thou and thou

shalt win him : be thou diligent and thou shalt overcome him that is thine equal.

20. In the world not every one telleth of the poison, saying, This is poison ; but of the goods of the priest they tell, saying, Truly this is poison : for the poison slayeth but once, but as for the goods of the priest they kill for ever.

21. By his swiftness is known the goodness of the horse : by the weight of his burden the goodness of the ox : by the much milk she giveth the goodness of the cow : and the wisdom of the wise man by the wisdom of his speech.

22. The riches of the just though they be little are like unto the water that is in the well, for they are a place of refuge unto all : but the riches of the unjust though they be great are like unto the waters of the sea, for in them is no place of refuge neither for them that bathe nor for them that drink.

23. The rivers drink not of their own water, neither eat the trees of their own fruit, nor fall the rains in every place : likewise are the riches of the just man only for an help unto others.

24. Desire ye not that which ye should not desire, neither think ye that which ye should not think ; but meditate ye carefully on the things that are,\* loving not to make your time profitless.

25. Without endeavour it cometh and with endeavour it cometh not. Is not this word true ? For the possession of riches cometh neither unto man nor unto woman according to their endeavour.

26. Whosoever loveth the wicked : whosoever loveth not the righteous : whosoever loveth only the law of the unjust : by these things shall he be destroyed. Thus shall it be with him. Here endeth the book concerning them that are good.

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### CHAPTER III.

1. Love not the wicked man greatly : it is as the pot thou bearest on thy head that is not full of water and maketh a noise.

2. The snake hath an evil temper and likewise hath the wicked man an evil temper, but the temper of the wicked man is more evil than the temper of the snake ; for the temper of the snake is quieted by the charm, but how shall ye cure the temper of the wicked man ?

3. When the foolish man knoweth his own foolishness, then, though he be foolish, shall he be called wise ; but when the foolish man thinketh himself to be wise though he be still foolish, then shall they say of him, Verily this is a fool.

\* Or of nature.

4. Whatsoever evil the foolish man doeth, it profiteth him not; and though he thinketh it to be even as honey, whensoever his evil deed prospereth then doth misery fall upon him.

5. The foolish man when he hath strength in his body becometh wicked and striveth after the goods of another by force: the foolish man that hath little wisdom when his body is destroyed goeth down into hell.

6. In the house it is the rat that maketh mischief: in the forest it is the monkey: among the birds it is the crow, and among men it is the teacher of false doctrines.\*

7. The night seemeth long to the wakeful man: the way seemeth long unto him that journeyeth: likewise his life seemeth long to the foolish man that knoweth not the righteous law.

8. The man that hath an evil mind seeth the fault of another though it be only as a sesamum seed: but though his own fault be as a cocoanut, he seeth it not.

9. If thou wouldest be wise show not thy fault unto another, but strive to learn his fault. Wherefore should this be so? Hide thy faults as the turtle draweth in his head and his members, but mark well the faults of others.

10. When the foolish man praiseth the wise, it is called chiding, but if the wise man praiseth the wise, then is it called praise indeed.

11. Make a present and thou shalt win the covetous: bow down before him and thou shalt win the haughty: follow after him† and thou shalt win the foolish: speak the truth and thou shalt win the wise. Here endeth the book concerning them that are wicked and foolish.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

1. If a stranger work for thine advantage then is he as thy brother, and if thy brother work not for thine advantage then is he as a stranger: so the sickness that is part of thee‡ is not for thy profit, but the medicine that cometh from the desert§ profiteth thee greatly.

2. He that speaketh slightly behind thy back, but speaketh kindly to thy face; shun thou him as a friend that hath such an heart, as the bee avoideth the poison that is in the pot.

3. If thy riches decrease thy friends cast thee off; likewise desert thee thy wife, thy children, and thy brethren; only will they shelter them under thy riches: wherefore in the world thy greatest friend is thy wealth.

4. In the world thou canst only know thy servant if he be good or bad when thou usest him: so only canst thou know thy brethren in the

\* Or Pôngnâ or the Brahmin.

† Or obey his will.

‡ Or within thy body.

§ Or forest.

time of danger : so canst thou know thy friends when thy riches are few : so canst thou know thy wife when thy wealth is fled.

5. Whosoever increaseth thy prosperity call him thy friend : whosoever giveth thee food call him thy father and thy brother : whosoever loveth thee him also call thy friend : and whosoever being happy maketh thee happy call thy wife.

6. Make not a great friend of thine enemy, neither make close acquaintance with thy friend, for when they are angry they will discover thy faults.

7. Whosoever hath once quarrelled with his friend if he wish to be one with him again, he must pursue him unto death,\* as the mare doth that is with young.

8. So long as thy desire be not fulfilled bear thine enemy on thy shoulder : but when the time of the fulfilment of thy desire cometh, then destroy thou him as thou wouldest break the pot thou carriest against the rock.

9. That which remains of thy debt : that which remains of the fire : those also that remain of thine enemies often times increase again : therefore leave thou none remaining.

10. Whosoever hath a face as fair as the water-lily : whose speech is sweet as the sandal-wood, and whose mind is as the poison that slayeth quickly : put not thy trust in such an one.

11. Trust not the master that is rough : still less put thy trust in the master that is quick to anger : still less in him that praiseth not : still less in him that is an oppressor.

12. Keep the thing that is horned fifty cubits from thee : keep the horse one hundred cubits from thee : keep the elephant that hath tusks one thousand cubits from thee : keep the bad man from thee altogether.

13. An evil abode ; a wicked husband ; a wicked people ; a wicked friend ; a wicked wife ; a bad servant : these must be kept afar off.

14. Whatsoever friend cometh forward when thou art oppressed with sickness ; when thou art an-hungered ; when thou lovest thy wealth ; when thou art in the hands of thine enemy ; when thou art before the king ; when thou art in the place of sepulture : only such a friend canst thou call a friend indeed.

15. Whosoever speaketh fair words hath many friends, but the harsh man hath but few. Seest thou not here the parable of the sun and the moon ? Here endeth the book concerning friendship.

\* Or the kingdom of death.

## CHAPTER V.

1. The beauty of the black cuckoo is his voice : the beauty of a woman is her love for her husband : the beauty of the uncomely is their knowledge, and the beauty of the priest is his long-suffering.

2. The wealth of a woman lieth in her beauty : of a man in his knowledge : of a priest in his well-doing : of a king in the strength of his armies.

3. A priest is comely if he be lean, as a four-footed beast is comely when he is fat : so a man becometh comely when he is wise and a woman when she hath an husband.

4. Be the harper never so good, if he play not on the harp for five days only his skill is fled ; be the archer never so skilful if he shoot not with the bow for seven days his cunning deserteth him : so the honour of a wife if she be a month separate from her husband is destroyed, and the disciple is lost if he be but half a month from his master.

5. The buffalo rejoiceth when he is in the mud, and the red duck when he is in the lake : so the woman rejoiceth when she hath an husband, and the priest when he doth according to the law.

6. Thou mayest praise the corn\* after thou hast eaten of it, so thou mayest praise thy wife when she is become old : so likewise thou mayest praise the army when it returneth home after the enemy is conquered, and thy grain after thou hast stored it in thy barns.

7. The woman that hath been put away from two or three husbands ; the scholar that hath learned in two or three schools ; and the bird that hath escaped twice or thrice from the net knoweth well the way thereof.

8. Tame the wicked by beating : tame the bad husband by firm words : tame the bad wife by keeping away the money from her, and the greedy man by making him an-hungered.

9. The night that hath no moon is not good to look upon ; nor the sea that hath no waves ; nor the lake that is without wild-ducks ; nor the damsel that is without an husband.

10. It is the husband that should bring the riches, and it is the wife that should keep them. Is not this saying true ? For it is the man that should be the leader of the woman† as the needle is of the thread.

11. Every river is crooked : every forest is full of fire-wood : every woman when she is in a quiet place doeth evil.

12. The woman that is a disputer ; that is envious and a backbiter ; that is covetous of whatsoever she seeth ; that cooketh much and eateth of it ; that eateth before her husband ; that goeth abroad to other's houses :

\* Or the rice.

† Or be the beginner or the original cause.



her husband should put her away though she hath borne him an hundred children.

13. The woman that delighteth in her husband when he eateth and when he adorneth himself, and as a mother correcteth that which is wrong; that is much ashamed as a sister when she seeth that which is not decent or that which should be hidden; that is respectful as a slave before her husband when he hath business; that obtaineth a companion to consult in the time of trouble; that giveth joy in the hour of sleep; that is clever to make herself comely; that is patient in the time of anger: that woman he that is wise calleth excellent, and when she is dead she is counted among the angels.\*

14. The maiden whose flesh is as the colour of gold; that hath eyes black as the hart's; whose waist is small and whose loins are broad; whose leg tapereth as an elephant's trunk; whose hair untied curleth at the tips; whose teeth are level; that hath a deep navel; that is pleasing in her carriage†: thou shouldest wed such an one even if she be of low birth.

15. The eighth month‡ is the most excellent among the seasons; so the most beautiful is the best among women; even so the eldest is the most excellent among sons and the North among the four quarters.

16. The woman that in each life§ desireth steadfastly to become a man must bear herself towards her husband respectfully, even as the wife of the chief of the Spirits|| beareth herself respectfully to him.

17. Whatsoever man in each life¶ desireth steadfastly to become a man goeth not near the wife of another, as he that would wash his feet shunneth the mud.

18. If he that hath become old take to wife a young girl, whose breasts are small as the fruit of the fig-tree, not being able to deal with her according to her desire, then she doeth him an injury.\*\* Believe her not if she saith she knoweth her old husband only: wherefore being wedded to a young wife he shall come to ruin by reason of her. Here endeth the book concerning women.

\* Or goeth to the country of the spirits or of the Nàts.

† Or habits.

‡ Or November.

§ Or in each state of life.

|| Or Nàts.

¶ Or in each state of life.

\*\* Or speaketh evil of him behind his back.

## CHAPTER VI.

1. A king sleepeth but one watch of the night : a wise man sleepeth but two : but he that is wedded sleepeth for three and the beggar sleepeth all night.\*

2. In whatsoever place there is none that is rich ; no wise man that seeth and heareth much ; no king ; no river ; and likewise none to heal : in the place where are not these five remain not even for a day.

3. In whatsoever place there is none to love, none to desire, none that is friendly, none to teach wisdom and learning : remain not in that place even for a day.

4. In the world the house is desolate wherein are no children and the kingdom desolate that hath no king : so the mouth of him that hath no wisdom is dumb† and all is desolation to him that is poor.

5. In the world he that would be rich becometh a trader : he that would be learned serveth him that is wise : he that would have sons marrieth a young wife : and he that would be a ruler doeth the desire of the king.

6. The priest that is not content cometh to ruin, as a lord of the world, if he be satisfied, cometh to destruction : so an harlot is ruined if she become modest, or she that is pure if she lose her modesty.

7. The strength of a bird is as the heavens : the strength of a fish is as the sea : even as the strength of a king is as a weak man and the strength of a child is a cry.

8. Long-suffering, wakefulness, industry, almsgiving, mercy, prudence : these six things are the glory of kings, of rulers, and of parents. This is the glory they desire that are good.

9. In the world kings command but once ; priests and teachers‡ speak but once ; prophets§ teach but once : and after their manner doeth|| the good man that is worthy to be loved.

10. In the world the idle man is evil if he be married, so is the priest evil if he keep no guard over his body or his mouth or his heart : likewise is the king evil that doeth aught without thinking of it, and the wise man that is wrathful if his wrath escape him.

11. In whatsoever place there are many great men¶ each desiring to be called a wise man and longing to be the chief of all : the work of those men cometh to nought.

\* Or for four watches.

† Or quiet or desolate.

‡ Or Brahmans or Pongnas.

§ Or saints or gods and the holy.

|| Or followeth their teaching or doeth the law of their meaning.

¶ Or chiefs.

12. Every king should of himself know his revenues whether they be less or more, and his provisions if they be enough or not : of himself he should know his servants if they do not their business ; that he that is worthy of disgrace may be disgraced, and he that is worthy of greatness may be made greater.

13. In the world turn thy back toward the sun and thy belly to the fire, pay respect with thy whole body to the great man,\* and by wisdom find a way to the world to come.†

14. In the world touch neither fire, nor water, nor a woman, nor a fool, nor a snake, nor a prince, but pass them by or instantly they will take away thy life.

15. In the world if any hath a bad wife, hath rude servants and evil-minded, hath a snake in his house : verily he shall die.

16. In the world by teaching wisdom to him that is very foolish, by living with a very wicked wife, by keeping company with the unjust shalt thou become less even though thou art a wise man.

17. In the world if the son do an evil deed thou sayest, His mother doeth it : likewise if the disciple work evil thou sayest, The master doeth it : so if the people do wrong thou shalt say, It is the king that hath done this ; and if the king himself do evil then shalt thou say, This is the work of the High Priest.‡

18. By his kindness§ a king should conquer him that is wrathful and proud, and him that is dishonest by his honesty : even as he overcometh the sour man by a present and by his truthfulness the liar.

19. In the world the rude man is tamed by a gift and by a gift cometh every good thing ; for he that bringeth gifts and fair words gaineth respect from another because he payeth it.

20. Gifts and offerings bring|| love in the world, as a sour mind bringeth¶ hate : so also gifts and offerings bring|| many followers even as a sour mind bringeth¶ loneliness.

21. In the world thou canst conquer the enemy thou desirest to conquer, if he use not his advantage when it is great, for then thou becomest his equal : it is as thou makest a rope of grass and with it bindest an elephant.

22. A king that hath his fill of armies, if he be not able to conquer

\* Or lord or master.

† Or offer respectfully thy back to the sun, thy belly to the fire, thy whole body to the great man, and thy wisdom to the world to come.

‡ Or the Parohit or Chief Brahman.

§ Or without anger.

|| Or are the medicine or charm for.

¶ Or is the medicine or charm for.

his enemies, what profiteth him his power ? It is as a fire, that is kindled in a place where is no wind, that burneth not.

23. None gratifieth his lust as a king, so none taketh either his form, or his speech, or his ornaments,\* or his clothing or his jewels or anything that is his.

24. The king is not my kinsman†; the king is not my wife's brother‡; the king is my master§ : keep these alway in thy mind.

25. When thou waitest on the king stand not afar off; neither approach very close; nor go between him and the wind; nor keep in front of him; nor look from a place lower than he, nor yet from one that is higher: these six things thou shalt not do: keep thyself from these as thou guardest thyself from fire.

26. Be thy glory as the glory of the God that knoweth all things, if thou obtain not the favour of the king,|| it becometh thee not: for it becometh the ruby that is of great price to be set in gold.¶ Here endeth the book concerning kings.

## CHAPTER VII.

1. How shall the priest do his duty that keepeth close acquaintance with a woman? or how shall he have a tender heart that eateth much of flesh? How shall he speak true words that drinketh strong drink? or he know shame that hath strong desire? How shall he obtain knowledge that is very idle? or he gather riches that grovelleth?

2. He that is a drunkard; that goeth abroad at wrong times; that goeth often times unto feasts; that is a gambler; that hath evil friends; that is an idler: he that doth these things cometh to destruction by reason of them.

3. In the day time speak not without looking first, and in the night time without asking first, but bear thyself as the hunter that is fearful of danger and looketh to and fro in the forest.

4. The prophet\*\* Byasa saith of five kinds of men that they are dead while yet alive: these are they that are poor, that are sick, that are ignorant, that are debtors, that are about the king.

\* Or his flowers and sweet smelling things.

† Or spouse.

‡ Or sister's husband.

§ Or lord.

|| Or the refuge that is called the king.

¶ Or the ruby of great price if it be set in gold becometh goodly.

\*\* Or teacher.

5. It is the wisdom\* of the wise man that he seeth danger ere yet it cometh and avoideth it from afar, neither is he afraid when he seeth that it hath already fallen on him.

6. In the world he that sleepeth over much, that is forgetful, that taketh his ease, that hath much sickness, that is lazy, that is strong in his lusts,† that is eager for whatsoever is new: these seven know not the Scriptures.‡

7. Go to the poor, thou gift: for he that hath many gifts is surfeited. Go unto the valley, thou Angel of the Rain; for the sea is surfeited with water. Such is not the law, but the deed is thine own.§

8. In the world when any hath finished that he hath to do he regardeth it no more||: therefore when thou hast aught to do, leave undone a remainder thereof.

9. In the world cotton is light, but lighter¶ is he that is wanton, and lighter still is he that hearkeneth not unto his parents and his teachers, and lighter yet than all is he that heedeth not the word of the excellent God.

10. In the world the sunshade\*\* that is of stone is of worth,†† and of greater worth‡‡ is it to hearken to the Angels, and greater still is the worth‡‡ of the instructions of thy teachers and parents, but the word of the excellent God is the most worthy§§ of all.

11. In the world thy right hand is called the slave of the body and his little finger the slave of the ear and the nose and the eyes, but the left hand is called the slave of the feet.

12. The angel||| Kuwera dwelleth in the midst of the betel-leaf: at the bottom thereof there dwelleth a spirit¶¶ and at the top thereof there dwelleth a devil.\*\*\* Wherefore when thou eatest of it, cut off the top and the bottom thereof, and thou shalt be of good repute.

13. An angel of high degree††† guardeth the tablets; an angel of

\* Or nature.

† Or hath great desires.

‡ Or the books.

§ Or this is not the law of nature, but the deed is the original cause.

|| Or careth no more for it.

¶ Or more worthless.

\*\* Or *htie* or umbrella.

†† Or heavy.

‡‡ Or heavier.

§§ Or heaviest.

||| Or *nàt* or spirit.

¶¶ Or *belu* or sprite or *yakkha*.

\*\*\* Or he that is evil.

††† Or a *Brahma*.

lesser degree\* guardeth the bindings† thereof; therefore it behoveth him that learneth knowledge to propitiate the angels both of the higher and lower degree,‡ for they love him that doth this.

14. According as the ox cherisheth man and bringeth him wealth, so let him love him as a parent and respect him.

15. Whosoever eateth of the flesh of the ox the same is called the devourer of his own mother's flesh: if an ox die it is meet that he be given to the birds of the air§ or unto the waters.||

16. He that learneth on the fifth day of the week will be complete in knowledge: he that learneth on the first or sixth day will leave undone a part thereof: he that learneth on the second or fourth day will obtain none of it¶: and he that learneth on the third or last day of the week will die.

17. There is that sayeth that he that learneth knowledge on the eighth day of the waxing or the waning moon killeth the teacher, and that he that teacheth knowledge on the fourteenth day of the waxing or the waning moon killeth the scholar: also there is that sayeth that if knowledge be taught on the tenth day of the waxing or the waning moon it will be destroyed, and that if it be taught to any at the full moon his parents will be slain.

18. In the world he that learneth knowledge eateth not of the cocoanut on the seventh day of the waxing and the waning moon: on the ninth day also he eateth not of the gourd, neither of the kenbeng on the twelfth day, nor on the third day of the divers kinds of curries: if he eat of these his knowledge will be lost.

19. In the world a man is renounced for the profit of his family: a family for the profit of the village: a village for the profit of the city: and the whole world for the profit of a man.\*\*

20. In the world the lion, the good man and the elephant, these leave the place that is not for their advantage and go their way; but the crow, the bad man, and the deer, these come to destruction in the place where they find delight.

21. In whatsoever place there is none to love and none to desire, there is no friend and none to teach: tarry thou not there.

22. The wise man goeth to the new place with a watchful mind as one that goeth forward, and remaineth in the old place with a constant

\* Or a Pisana.

† Or bag.

‡ Or both the Brahmas and the Pisanas.

§ Or the Vultures.

|| Or that he float on the water.

¶ Or be of a calm mind.

\*\* Or self.

mind as one that standeth still : wherefore leave not quickly the old place without trying the new.

23. A woman when she eateth eateth twice as much as a man, but her wisdom is four times greater than his, and her lust eight times greater.

24. In the world the taste of the sugarcane becometh sweeter according as the joint is further from the top ; so the excellent man that is a good husband becometh sweeter from the beginning even unto the end, as doth the sugarcane : likewise also the evil friend by degrees loseth his sweetness, as doth the sugarcane when thou eatest thereof from the bottom to the top.

25. If the country be filled full of husbandmen and of merchants and of noblemen and of priests of good repute, then shall the borders be increased.

26. The wisdom of him that prayeth not fadeth away, as the house of him that is idle becometh foul : even so also is idleness as rust to him that is beautiful, and sloth as dirt to the sober priest.

27. In the world the riches of them that do little labour become the riches of them that work much. They that are come to a low estate teach, saying, Our fortune is the reason thereof : but they that are wise teach not so, saying, It is because they do not their work with all their might. If the work be not finished, and he profiteth not according to his desire ; Is the fault with it ? Nay, the fault lieth not with it.

28. Whosoever is of low estate, neither can work with his lips nor with his hands, whose form is not fair, who lacketh strength : though he be blamed by reason of these, yet is this age a lesser age and maketh his wealth only to be of any worth. Here endeth the book concerning divers matters.

29. The book concerning the wise ; the book concerning the good ; the book concerning the evil ; the book concerning friends ; the book concerning women ; the book concerning kings ; the book concerning divers matters. He who put in order these seven books is called Chakkindabi the true teacher of the law,\* the great High Priest, Master of the Law,† that dwelleth in the building that is built of brick‡ in the Sacred Ground.§ He made clear the interpretation of the writings of the Book of the Proverbs of Common Life in the second fifth-month|| on the first day of the week¶ and the seventh of the waning moon, in the eleven hundred and ninety-sixth year.

\* Or Saddhamma Dhaja.

† Or Mahā Dhammarāja Guru.

‡ Or in the Ok Kyoung.

§ Or Mahā Oung myè bōngtsān.

|| Or intercalary month.

¶ Or Sunday.





# JOURNAL

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*The Bangash Nawábs of Farrukhábád—A Chronicle, (1713—1857).—By*  
WILLIAM IRVINE, C. S., *Fatehgarh, N. W. P.*—PART I.

From the time of Farrukhsiyar's accession in 1713, the imposing fabric of the Mughul Empire began to fall asunder. In the hands of weak and dissolute princes, surrounded by self-seeking and incompetent courtiers, the central power rapidly withered and decayed. As control relaxed, the provincial governors usurped more and more, in fact if not in name, the attributes of sovereignty, and transmitted their authority to their heirs with little more than the nominal concurrence of the *faînéant* descendants of Bábar and Akbar. To this period of disintegration can be traced the origin of nearly all the great Muhammadan principalities which the English found, when they first intervened in Indian politics. From 'Ali Wardí Khán, a subahdar who died in 1744, descend the Nawáb-Názims of Bengal; the Nizám of Haidarábád represents the family founded by Nizám-ul Mulk, Asaf Jáb, Subahdár of the Dakhin from 1713 to 1748; the kings of Audh sprang from Sa'dat Khán, Burhán-ul Mulk, appointed Subahdár of Audh in 1713; the Rohelas achieved their independence in the early part of Muhammad Sháh's reign; and the Játs of Bhartpur first rose into importance at the time when Churáman became the ally of 'Abdullah Khán, Kutb-ul Mulk, the rebellious Wazír of Muhammad Sháh. The Bangash house, which founded Farrukhábád and acquired a considerable territory in the middle Duáb, arose at the same time and in the same way as its more famous rivals; and although in the end it fell upon evil days, there was a time when its prospects of future greatness were little, if at all, inferior to

those of its competitors. At the death of Muhammad Khán in 1743, no one would have foretold that his successors would so soon be distanced in the race for power. The rashness of one successor and the weak unambitious nature of another, aided by the exposed position of their country, placed in the highway of all hostile forces from east or west or south, soon reduced Farrukhábád to comparative insignificance. Still, it is impossible to deny that the Bangash Nawábs have received but scant justice at the hand of the general historian. Nowhere has their history been told in any connected form, and many of the events in which they played a prominent part have been passed over or incorrectly narrated. To remedy, so far as possible, this defect, is the object of this paper. It is, I believe, the first attempt in English to tell, from the local point of view, the story of the Nawábs of Farrukhábád.

*Account of the sources from which this history is derived.*

Since many of the books I have used are MSS. not known beyond the limits of the district, it is desirable to begin with some account of them and their authors.

× The oldest and most valuable of these is a collection of letters from and to Muhammad Khán, Ghazanfar Jang, made in 1159 H. (Jan. 1746—Jan. 1747) by Munshi Sáhib Ráe under the name of *Khujistah Kalám*, which denotes the date. There are 206 letters from, and 89 to Muhammad Khán. His correspondents included all the great men of that time, but letters are most numerous to the Emperor, to the Wazír Kamr-ud-din Khán, to Nizám-ul Mulk, to Khán Daurán Khán, Amír-ul Umrá, and to Roshan-ud-daula. The letters belong mostly to the period from 1140 H. to 1156 H. The MS. measures 10 in. × 6½ in. and contains 251 leaves of fifteen lines to a page, but there are two or three leaves wanting at the end. The book, which was obtained from the heir of Sáhib Ráe's great-grandson Bhawáni Parshád, lay in a heap of other papers, which had been reduced to dust by damp and insects, in a long-disused room. No other copy appears to be in existence. ×

† The family history of Sáhib Ráe, so far it can be pieced together from the fragments left at the end of his book, is as follows: His grandfather, Manohar Dás, filled the office of peshkár of Bahat, Sahind and Antri with other districts of Sarkár Gwáliár. He lived in Gwáliár where he had a masonry house. After his death, his son Dwárka Dás went to Sháhjahánábád in search of employment, and lived in the Pahárganj ward. Through his friend Lála Gaj Singh, peshkar of the *Khálsa Sharífa*, he was appointed to some office. He left two sons Dál Chand and Sáhib Ráe. The former was letter-copier and keeper of private accounts to Nawáb Sádat Khán. Sáhib Ráe was educated by his brother, and in the time of Far-

rukhsiyar (1713—1718) entered the service of Nawáb Muhammad Khán as Munshi or Secretary. The period of his death is not known. His grandson, Dalpat Ráe, held the same office and played a prominent part in the time of Nawáb Muzaffar Jang (1771—1793) and Násir Jang (1793—1813).†

The next in order of time and perhaps of value, is a work by Sayyad Hisám-ud-din Sháh Gwáliári. His grandfather, Abu'l Hasan, was sister's son and son-in-law to the saint Muhammad Ghaus Gwáliári. Hisám-ud-din came to Farrukhábád in Muhammad Khán's time (before 1743) and served as a *yakka* or adventurer riding his own horse. He was present at the siege of Allahábád (Oct. 1750 to April 1751), the siege of Fathgarh (April-May 1751), and the campaign in Rohilkhand (Oct. 1751—April 1752). He became a Fakír and died in 1210 H. (July 1795—July 1796).

His book is of little value till he comes to the battle of November 1748, in which Káim Khán lost his life. From that time till the death of Ahmad Khán in 1771 the narrative is full and interesting. The style is clear and graphic with little attempt at literary effect, and I think he fully deserves Mufti Wali-ullah's praise of trustworthiness. The MS. was lent to me by Mír Fazl 'Ali from the *Madrasa* library of Mufti Wali-ullah. It measures  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  5 in. and has 393 pages of 11 lines to the page. It is divided into the following headings—Muhammad Khán and Káim Jang, pp. 4-54—Imám Khán succeeds, fine to Emperor paid, Imám Khán imprisoned, Bibi Sáhíba escapes; pp. 54-89—Ahmad Khán, death of Naval Ráe, defeat of Wazír, siege of Allahábád, pp. 89-150—Return of the Wazír, Ahmad Khán goes to Rohilkhand, pp. 150-226—Ahmad Khán retreats under the Hills and gets aid from the Rájah of Almora, pp. 226-249—The Wazír with the Mahrattas arrives and besieges Ahmad Khán, pp. 249-264—Interview between Ahmad Khán and the Rájah, the Wazír makes peace and takes the Nawáb's son with him towards Lakhnau, pp. 264-313—Ahmad Khán and his chiefs, with the Rohelas, march from the entrenchment, Ahmad Khán comes to Farrukhábád, pp. 313-340—Marriage of Muzaffar Jang, pp. 340-353—The Wazír brings the Emperor (Sháh 'Alam) to attack Ahmad Khán, pp. 353-393.

The next in order of date is Mufti Wali-ullah's *Tarikh-i-Farrukhábád* written about 1245 H. (July 1829—June 1830). Sayyad Wali-ullah, son of S. Ahmad 'Ali (who died 1187 H.=1773 A. D. aged 51), was born at Sándi, Sirkár Khairábád, on the 14th Shawwal 1165 H. (26th August, 1752). The family had been settled for ten generations at Sándi, about twenty-six miles south-east of Farrukhábád, on the other side of the Ganges. Before that, ten generations had lived at Dáipur, just east of Kanauj and close to the Ganges. The founder of the colony there is said to have come from Láhore.

When he was nine years of age, Wali-ullah came with his father to

Farrukhábád. He studied at Farrukhábád, Kanaúj and Bareli, finishing under 'Abd-ul Básit Kanaúji. In 1189 H. (March 1775—Feb. 1776), while on his way to Mecca, he visited the town of Rahmatábád in the eastern part of the Dakhin, where he was initiated into the Naqshbandi and Kádiriya tenets by Khwája Rahmat-ullah. In 1190 H. (Feb. 1776—Feb. 1777) he spent six months at the holy places. Returning to India he at length in 1196 H. (Dec. 1781—Dec. 1782) settled at Farrukhábád. From his savings he bought several houses, and joining them together he established a *madrassa* and named it *Fakhr-ul Maraba o Raba'-ul Mufákhir*, which gives the date 1224 H. (Feb. 1809—Feb. 1810). His library is still kept there, but there are no scholars and nothing is taught. On the 29th August, 1805, he was appointed Mufti, which office he held till the 13th October, 1828, when he was succeeded by his relation, Mufti Wiláyat-ullah. Wali-ullah died on the 5th Jamádi II, 1249 (18th Nov., 1833). The following *tárikhs* give the year of his death. The first is by Bahádur 'Ali Sayyad.

I. *Ganj-i-ma'ni ba-raft zer zamín.*

II. *Dafan kardand ganj-i-ilm ba-khák.*

One of the copies of his history lent me by Mír Fazl 'Ali measures 10 in. × 6½ in., and has 370 pages, the number of lines to a page varies. The book is divided into two parts. Part I, History of Farrukhábád and the Bangash family (160 pp.) containing an introduction and six books, the first book comprising five chapters. Part II: divided into five books, (1) Famous personages; (2), Shekhs, Sayyads, and Fakírs; (3), Learned men; (4), Poets, and (5) an account of the author. In the historical part there is little or no detail, much being taken from the *Siyar-ul Mutákharrin* and similar works, though some facts are added from personal knowledge or enquiry. The most valuable part is, that giving the traditional origin of the Bangash Patháns. About two-thirds of the work is taken up with biographies of obscure Muhammadan worthies who lived in, or had visited Farrukhábád.\*

The *Zauh-i-Tárikh* is an Urdú work which in its present shape was composed in 1255 H. (March 1839—March 1840). Mír Bahádur 'Ali's copy, lent me by his nephew Salámat 'Ali of Chibramau, measures 9¼ in. × 6 in., and has 554 pages, with 16 to 18 lines to the page. It is written in an easy popular style, and though defective in chronology and arrangement, it preserves a mass of interesting tradition which would otherwise have perished.

The origin of the book is thus described: In 1248 H. (May 1832—May 1833) Manavvar 'Ali Khán Bakhshi, great-grandson of Muhammad Khán's daughter, Daulat Khátun, began to prepare an account of Farrukhábád and

\* He was the author of several other works.

its rulers from the work of Mufti Wali-ullah and other books, such as the *Khulásah-i-Bangash*, but more especially from the recollections of an old man, Alláhádád Khán, son of Muqím Khán chela. Two copies of this work were given away, one to Nawáb Diláwar Jang, son of Nawáb Husain 'Ali Khán, and the other to Dharm Dás, Káyath Kharowah. Neither of these copies can be found now, although search has been made.

Manavvar 'Ali Khán says, that as he had neither practice in the Urdú language nor the habit of literary composition, he made his book over to Mír Bahádúr 'Ali to be put into shape. Bahádúr 'Ali returned it corrected in 1255 H. (March 1839—March 1840) with additions from his own knowledge. To the amended work were given the titles of *Amín-i Khándán-i-Bangash* or *Lauh-i-Tárikh*. A poetical *tárikh*, giving the year 1255 H., is as follows:

“*Kyá baní hai, miyan, yih khúbb kitáb.*”

The book is divided into eight parts, besides the introduction. I. Nawáb Muhammad Khán, Ghazanfar Jang. II. N. Káim Khán. III. N. Ahmad Khán, Ghálib Jang. IV. N. Daler Himmát Khán, Muzaffar Jang. V. N. Imdád Husain Khán, Násir Jang. VI. N. Khádim Husain Khán, Shaukat Jang. VII. N. Tajammul Husain Khán, Zafar Jang. VIII. Chap. 1, Biography of Manavvar 'Ali Khán; Chap. 2, Biography of Mír Bahádúr 'Ali.

Manavvar 'Ali Khán, born in 1799, was the son of Sarfaráz 'Ali Khán, Ustarzai Karláni Pathán. His great-grandfather, Khudádád Khán, had married Daulat Khátun, the ninth daughter of Nawáb Muhammad Khán, Ghazanfar Jang. On his grandmother's death in 1809, his father gave up all her jágírs, but Manavvar 'Ali Khán in 1839 still received 200 rupees a year from Sarfaráz Mahal, widow of Násir Jang, to whom the property had been assigned. Manavvar 'Ali Khán died on the 13th Sha'ban 1280, H. (24th August, 1863).

Mír Bahádúr 'Ali was a Sayyad of Chibramau, a small town on the Grand Trunk Road, about eighteen miles from Farrukhábád. He claims to be descended from the eldest son of Zain-ul 'Abidain, who left Madína and settled in Turmaz. Some of his descendants were long settled near Láhor, but gradually moving eastwards they reached, some five hundred years ago, the town of Chibramau, Sirkár Kanauj, Súbah Akbarábád. It is said that once seventy to eighty families existed, occupying three *muhallas*, but for the last two or three hundred years these have disappeared. Now-a-days there is only one small *muhalla*, with five or seven families of Sayyads. During the Mughul rule the male members of these families sought employment at Delhi as Kázis, Muftís, religious officers, Díwáns, writers or revenue-collectors. The absence of a genealogical table is apologized for by Bahádúr 'Ali in his biography. Owing to the unsettled times and the occurrence of several Mahratta incursions and village raids (*Gan-*

*wár Gardi*) the records of his ancestors had been destroyed. From signatures in books in his possession, he traces his family for six generations. His father and grandfather used to say the Chibramau Sayyads were among the descendants of Sayyad Kamál, who came down country from Láhor. One of his sons S. 'Ali Amjad settled in Chibramau, the others went to Samdhan, Parganah Tálgrám, to a village near Kanauj, to the town of Tálgrám, to Sándí, to Márahra and to Sakatpur. Bahádúr 'Ali's ancestors, some openly and some secretly, were all Shi'as in religion.

Bahádúr 'Ali's grandfather, Ghulám Husain, was born, he asserts, in 1101 H. (Oct. 1689—Sept. 1690) and he died in 1226 H. (Jan. 1811—Jan. 1812). He had only two sons, Chirágh 'Ali and Hashmat 'Ali (b. 1182, May 1768—May 1769, *Z.* 1231 H. Dec. 1815—Nov. 1816). The grandfather was at one time in the service of Najíb Khán and Shuja'-ud-daula, from the former receiving Rs. 125 and from the latter Rs. 100 a month. For forty years he was in the service of Nawáb Dáim Khán, chela of Nawáb Ahmad Khán, first as a trooper on Rs. 80, then as a physician on Rs. 50, then as a pensioner on Rs. 20 a month. At last he was made teacher, on Rs. 10 a month, to the Nawáb's sons and wife. Till near the end of his life, he lived at the gateway of Dáim Khán's house in Farrukhabád. Five or six years before his death, when he became very feeble, his son and grandson persuaded him to remove to Chibramau, where he died on the 27th Ramzan, 1226 H. on the day of the Diváli festival. Bahádúr 'Ali believed his grandfather could perform miracles, and relates a story of his appearing in a dream to a sick man, and telling him to gather grass from his tomb, which when ground was to be applied to the chest. An instantaneous cure was the result.

Bahádúr 'Ali's father, Chirágh 'Ali, was born in 1157 H. (Feb. 1744—Jan. 1745). When twenty-five years of age he became blind. He retained, however, his bodily strength, and was endowed with great quickness of understanding and power of repartee. His touch was so fine, that he could tell the wrong from the right side of a rupee. He possessed a great talent for planning buildings; and he also practised physic, as he had learnt it from his father, Ghulám Husain. His memory was wonderfully good, and he remembered the details of every body's family history in all the country round Chibramau. He died on the 4th Ramzán, 1247 H. (6th Feb. 1832). Bahádúr 'Ali's mother's people lived at Bhonganw, a town on the Grand Trunk Road in the Mainpuri district, about 22 miles west of Chibramau. She was the second daughter of Shekh Kbalíl-ur-rahmán Khátib, son of Shekh Khair-ullah Khátib.

Bahádúr 'Ali was born on the 20th Shawwál 1195 H. (9th Oct. 1781). In 1201 H. (Oct. 1786—Oct. 1787), his grandfather brought him to Farrukhabád to live at the gateway of Nawáb Dáim Khán chela. He was taught there for six years. He read through the usual Persian books and



wrote daily some composition for his teacher's correction. Mir Makhú Fakír was engaged to teach him writing. A few books on grammar and physic were read and the whole word of God; to this was added some arithmetic. It was also his habit to visit the holy and religious men of that time, whom he names. Once Háfiz Ghulám Muhammad condescended to go over a chapter of the *Qurán* with him.

When Bahádur 'Ali had completed his twelfth year, his uncle Hashmat 'Ali came home from Lakhnau. He had lived in that city for fifteen years as a teacher in the family of Lála Lachman Singh and Lála Budh Singh, Sarsút Bráhmans, employed in the service of Rájah Tikait Ráe, Náib. In 1207 H. (Aug. 1792—Aug. 1793) Hashmat 'Ali, taking Bahádur 'Ali with him, returned to Lakhnau. The boy was made over to Mír Sájid 'Ali, a great friend of his uncle's, who followed the profession of a teacher. After a year had passed, Bahádur 'Ali was sent to read grammar with Maulvi Kamál Ahmad Sháhjahánpuri; and in order to gain an acquaintance with the poets, he frequented Maulvi Pír 'Ali Rasúlpuri. For a short time he also attended Maulvi Ghulám Muhammad, Fáik, Amethawi, who conferred on him the poetical title of *Nír*. A desire to write poetry having sprung up in him, he asked his uncle to introduce him to Miyan Ghulám Hamdáni Mashafi, whose instructions he followed for several years. Here he took the names of *Gardish* and *Wámik*. It was at this time that he wrote a Persian *diwán* entitled *Juwáli-i-'Ishk*. He also attended the poetical assemblies held every fortnight at the houses of Miyan Jurát, Inshállah Khán, Mír Takki, Miyán Mashafi, Shahzádah Sulaimán Shikoh, Miyán Muntazar and others. On these occasions he recited *ghazals* under both the above titles in Persian and Urdu.

For the eleven years, ending in 1217, H. (May 1802—April 1803), which he spent in Lakhnau, Bahádur 'Ali to provide for his own support worked as a teacher at various places. He was also for a time a trooper in the Nawáb Wazír's service, in the time of Asaf-ud-daula (1775—1798) and Sa'dat 'Ali Khán (1798—1813). Farrukhábád having been taken over by the English, Bahádur 'Ali returned to his home in the end of 1217, H. and for a long period supported himself as a teacher. At length he was appointed tutor to Rájah Jaswant Singh, Baghela Thákur, of Tirwa in the south-east of the Farrukhábád district, on a salary of Rs. 8 a month, plus the food of two persons, besides presents. Through the Rájah's influence he obtained the appointment of Thánadár of Chibramau, which he held for two years. Afterwards, at the Rájah's request, he acted as Wakil for him and his brother, Kunwar Pítam Singh, at Mainpuri, Bareli, and Fathgarh, in the office of the Collector, the Civil Courts, the Revenue Board's Office, and the Court of Appeal.

On the death of his patron abovenamed,\* Bahádur 'Ali lost his appointment and went to live in Farrukhábád. There for some years he taught the children at the house of Lála Daler Singh, Káyath Sribástab, "Chaoni-wála;" and subsequently he was for some years in the service of Ráe Chandi Parshád, Káyath Saksena, of *muhalla* Sadhwára. For two years he was with Mr. Martin, Indigo-planter, on Rs. 15 a month, as a *parwánanavis* at the Shamshábád factory; then for a year and a half he was employed on Rs. 20 a month in the Joint-Magistrate's Court at Sīdhpura (now part of the Eta district). He was recommended by Munshi Zahúr 'Ali 'Abbási Shekhpuri. When the Court was abolished,† he went for three years to Lakhnau, where he obtained various employments, as a writer at the Daryábád Thána, forty-three miles east of Lakhnau, as account-keeper to a merchant, and for part of the time as a teacher. On his return he again became a teacher at Farrukhábád. In 1839 when he wrote, he had been for some years living at the gate of Lála Dil Sukh Ráe, the son, and Lála Shankar Parshád, the grandson of the deceased Diwán Debi Dás. During this period, hundreds, old and young, had been his pupils; but not one had done him any service, or turned out a real friend, or shown any affection, nor had even one been true to his word. He says he had no complaints to make nor any claims. Indeed he was accustomed not even to go down the street, where such ungrateful men dwelt.

Bahádur 'Ali was married on the 7th Zi'l'hajj 1220, H. (28th Feb. 1806) to the daughter of Shekh Karm-ullah of Shamshábád, son of Asad-ullah Farúki. The family had a quantity of land and groves, granted by the Emperors, with yearly and daily allowances. In the disorders of the time, all these came unjustly into the possession of S. Tahavvar 'Ali Kabáe. Bahádur 'Ali's father-in-law, his uncle Siffat-ullah, and Shekh Khúb-ullah, another relation, made great exertions to recover the property, but "*ba-sa-bab-ná-insáfi aur rúdiqí hákimán-i-Farrukhábád ke, apne dád aur hakḳ ko na pahunchē.*" The younger branches of the family scattered to Tálgrám, Sakráwah, and Chibramau.

Bahádur 'Ali had no issue; but, as he says, this being a matter out of one's power, he indulged in no regrets. He passed his days in reading, in recitations of poetry, in teaching, in reading aloud, and in the writing of books. And he failed not to give God thanks for his mercies;

*"Harcha Sáki-i-má rekht, 'ain altáf ast."*

He furnishes a list of thirteen works composed by him, besides short tales. The thirteenth is the History of Farrukhábád called '*Anwán-i-*

\* Rájah Jaswant Singh died on the 3rd Oct. 1815, being succeeded by his brother Pítam Singh, who died 11th November, 1835—Kali Ráe, pp. 149, 150.

† The Sīdhpura Joint-Magistracy existed from 1816 to 1828, Gaz., N. W. P., IV. pp. 3, 4.

*Khándán-i-Bangash* or *Lauh-i-Tárikh*. From about 1814 or 1819 he adopted the poetical title of "*Sayyad*." He also wrote in Hindi (*Bhákáá*) in the name of *Manhi*.

He says he intended his books to be a memorial of him after his death, and he hoped that they would take the place of children. In their composition he passed his days very happily. From the day that he began to write, he claims never to have written, with an object, in praise of any noble, nor had he sought their favours. He refused the invitations of the *Sáhibzádahs* of the city, for with worldly persons there can be but two objects *Káida* or *Fáida*, and when neither is desired there can be no reason to court the great. He prays that God may grant him similar independence during the small remains of life—" *Amin sam Amin*."

From 1225, H. (Feb. 1810—Jan. 1811) with the help of his second brother, Muhammad 'Ali, he observed the ceremonies of *Táziá'dári* yearly; he belonged to the Shi'a sect. As his home did not afford the requisite accommodation, he bought half an acre of land at his door, intending to build an *Imámbará* and a dwelling-house. He managed to complete a small dwelling-house, and the masonry foundations of the *Imámbará* were laid on the 13th Muharrum 1241, H. (30th August, 1825). But from poverty he had been unable to proceed with it; he writes that he hopes it may be finished before he dies, so that his soul may rest in his grave in peace. His father was buried at his own request in an earthen tomb within the *Imámbará*. Bahádur 'Ali himself died on the 30th Sha'bán 1270, H. (28th May, 1854).

There is a small work called *Mahárbát-i Mughuliya ba-Afghániya*, a copy of which was kindly procured for me by Maulvi Manzúr Ahmad, Deputy Collector (to whom I am also indebted for first calling my attention to the *Lauh-i-Tárikh*). So much of it is in verse, and the rest is in such a bombastic ambitious style, that the residue of fact is very small. Still, although the date of the copy is January, 1834 (the author's and owner's names have been carefully obliterated), I infer that its composition is of older date, or that independent sources were employed, for it contains a few statements not met with elsewhere. The MS. measures  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. and has 101 pages of 14 lines to the page. I have also picked up twenty-six leaves of a collection of reports from some Lakhnau *amil* in the years 1162—1164 H. From internal evidence I believe the writer to be Nawáb Baká-ullah Khán, Khán 'Alam, *faujdar* of Korá. I have gleaned from these letters a few facts about Naval Ráo's death and the subsequent events. The first nine leaves and some leaves at the end are wanting.

The *Khuláṣah-i-Bangash*, apparently almost contemporary with Muhammad Khán (1713—1743), is quoted once in the *Lauh-i-Tárikh*.

Neither of this book nor of a collection of letters made by Munshi Dalpat Ráe (d. 28th March, 1823), grandson of Munshi Sáhib Ráe, have I been able to obtain any trace. Other authorities used are well enough known. The principal of these are the *Siyar-ul-Mutákharrín*, *Táríkh-i-Muzaffarí*, *Khiz-ánah-i-'Amíra*, *'Amád-us-Sa'dat*, Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, *Fathgarh-námah* Curwen's translation of the *Balwant-námah* and the *Miftáh-ut Tawárikh* (edition of 1849). The *Ma'asir-ul Umrá* in the article '*Abd-ul Mansúr Khán*', when speaking of Káim Khán's death, refers for details to "the account of his father Muhammad Khán Bangash", but I cannot find in the book any biography of Muhammad Khán. The *Hadíkat-ul Akálím*, of Murtaza Husain, I have also put under contribution.

#### NAWÁB MUHAMMAD KHÁN, BANGASH, GHAZANFAR JANG.

##### *Origin of the family.*

Muhammad Khán was a Bangash of the Karláni Kághzai clan. Malak Kais, 'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the ancestor of all Patháns, had three sons Sarban, Batan, Ghurghasht. The second son, whose name was Shekh Haiyát, obtained his appellation from his love of peace and his piety, *Batan* in their language signifying the Pure. Batan had three sons, Ismá'il, Ashyún, Kajín, and one daughter, Matú. The descendants of the sons are usually called *Batan*. The children of Matú by her husband, Sháh Husain, son of Mu'az-ud-din, are called Ghilzai, Lodi, Sarwáni.

Sarban, the eldest son of Kais, had two sons, the elder of whom, Sharf-ud-din, had five sons. Of these the youngest was Amír-ud-dín. One day while out hunting Amír-ud-din at one of his camping-places picked up a Sayyad boy, to whom he gave the name of *Karláni*. When he grew up he was married to a woman of the tribe, and his children were called the Karláni. Among Karlánis are the Dilázák, Afrídí, Khaṭak, and Malak-mírí subdivisions. Relying on the truth of the above story, the Karláni believe themselves to be Sayyads. Karláni having been brought up with Adarnar, son of Amír-ud-dín, his descendants have been classed among the Sarban tribes.

The origin of the name *Kághzai* is related as follows. Once Shekh Hayát, *alias* Batan, was anxious to marry his daughter Matú to Sháh Husain, son of Mu'az-ud-din Mahmúd, son of Jamál-ud-dín Hasan, son of Sultán Bahrám, who had left his own country of Ghor by reason of the desolation caused by the first Muhammadan invasions. Accordingly a man of the Kágh tribe, that is, a professional singer, was sent to enquire into the genealogy of Sháh Husain at Ghor, his birthplace. On returning he threatened to throw doubt on Sháh Husain's purity of descent unless his, Kágh's, daughter were accepted in marriage. Sháh Husain married the

girl, who was called Mihi, and also Sarw. Having no children, she adopted a son of her co-wife Matú, and called him Sarwáni. By reason of this adoption he came to be called Kághzai.

The word *Bangash* originally meant the hill country. But in course of time it was applied to the inhabitants, those in the upper hills being called Bálá Bangash, those in the country along the foot of those hills, that is, in Kohát, were known as the Páin Bangash. At present the Bangash tribe is most numerous in Kohát, the rest dwell to the west of it, in Kúram and Shalúzám. The valley of the Bangash is encircled by hills, and its greatest length is from east to west. To the east and south-east is found the Khaṭák tribe in the hills of Khaṭkán; to the north are the Urakzais; to the south-west is the boundary of the Waziris; to the west is the country of Kúram. The Bangash who live in Kúram and Paiwár are in subjection to the Tori; those in Shaluzám are their own masters; while those in Kohát are British subjects. In all they number about eighteen thousand households.\*

Years after the first settlement took place, many of the Sarwánis quitted the Bálá Bangash, and from that time were designated Kághzai, those who stayed in their original seat continuing to be called Sarwáni. After this a party of Karláni, who had settled near the Sarwáni Kághzai in the Bálá Bangash, also began to be called Kághzai, though in truth they are neither Sarwáni nor the children of Kágh. In short, there are two kinds of Kághzai, (1) Karláni Kághzai and (2) Sarwáni Kághzai.

In the reign of 'Alamgr Aurangzeb (1658—1707), Malak 'Ain Khán Karláni Kághzai, quitting his native country for Hindustán, came to Mau-Rashidábád, where he took service in the troop of 'Ain Khán Sarwáni, then in the employ of the Khánzádah family. Malak 'Ain Khán, son of Gohar Khán, son of Sabza Khán, son of Jahán Khán, son of Sárang Khán, belonged to the Harya Khail, in it to the Shámilzai, and in it to the Daulat Khail, who are the descendants of Daulat Khán, known as Háji Bahádúr. This latter must be distinguished from the other Háji Bahádúr, the Koháti, of the family of Shekh Adam Banúrí.

The town of Mau-Rashidábád is now little more than a name; its site has been turned into one vast tobacco-field. It lies close to the high bank, which overlooks the old bed of the Ganges and the stretch of lower land between it and the present stream. It is situated twenty-one miles west of Farrukhábád, five miles west of the old town of Shamshábád-Khor, and about one mile north-east of the modern but more thriving town of Káim-ganj. Though Mau has now only a few inhabitants, the country surrounding it is full of flourishing Pathán colonies, such as Ráepur, Pathaura, 'Ataipur; and the inhabitants of these places are all known outside the

\* Haiyat-i-Afgháni, p. 448.

district under the generic name of Mau Patháns. They are to be found in numbers in our native cavalry, where they appear to bear a high character as soldiers.

Mau Rashídábád, the former name of which was Mau-Thoriyá, was re-founded in the reign of Jahángír about 1607, A. D. (1016, H.) by Nawáb Rashíd Khán, jágírdar of Shamshábád. A few of his descendants, known as *Khánzádahs*, still exist though reduced to poverty.\* The myth so common in the East is told to account for the selection of the site. Jackals drove off the Nawáb's dogs, and in his astonishment, he inferred that such a soil would produce men more brave and strong than found elsewhere.

*Muhammad Khán's early years.*

'Ain Khán married in Mau, and when he died left two sons, Himmat Khán, aged thirteen, and Muhammad Khán, aged eleven. Since Muhammad Khán died in December, 1743, at about the age of eighty lunar years, his birth must have taken place about the year 1665. One day, the story goes, Muhammad Khán had ridden out on his elder brother's horse along the edge of the river, and he brought it back in a profuse sweat. Himmat Khán fearing that he would some day throw the horse down and get injured himself, gave Muhammad Khán a slight reproof. Angry at being spoken to, Muhammad Khán took refuge at a fakir's hut. The fakir, to cheer him, prophesied that he would one day be a *Báwan-Hazárá* or Commander of Fifty-two thousand. Himmat Khán, the elder brother, in time left home and took service in the Dakhin, where he died. His body is interred in Sher Muhammad Khán's bág in Mau, a grove which had been planted in the days of Nawáb Rashíd Khán. He left one daughter, Bibi Fátima, who became the wife of 'Ináyat 'Ali Khán, Bangash Kághzai.

\* When Muhammad Khán reached the age of twenty years (*i. e.* about 1685, A. D.), he took service with Yásín Khán Bangash, then a leader of renown among the Patháns of Mau. In the month of October of every year, he started from Mau with four or five thousand men, horse and foot, and went across the Jamna. In those days the Rájahs of Bundelkhand were at incessant war with each other, and the trade of the soldier flourished. When any Rájah, who had a rebellious vassal to deal with, heard of Yásín Khán's arrival, an agent would be sent to engage him to punish the rebel. The ordinary terms were one-fourth of the plunder or of the money obtained. When the agreement had been reduced to writing, payment of one half beforehand was demanded as *Ajauri* or money in advance. This sum was divided among the troops, so much to each horseman and so much to each footman. A march was then made against, the place designated, and it was surrounded. If the inhabitants fought, force was met by force; if they asked for terms, a settlement was made.

\* On Rashíd Khán and the Khánzádahs. Note A.

Any money collected was forwarded to the Rájah who had engaged the band, after deducting any balance that might be due. Whatever they had gained was divided, and the share of any man killed was set apart and sent to his widow at Mau. For eight months these plundering expeditions continued, and when the month of June came, they all returned to Mau. Owing to the rank of 'Ain Khán's family and his own relationship to them, Yásín Khán had great affection for Muhammad Khán. Yásín Khán was an Ustarzai Bangash, a native of Mau, and a relation of Muhammad Khán's mother. One day while besieging Orchha,\* on the Datiya frontier, Yásín Khán was killed by a shot from a villager's gun. The Patháns then chose as their leader Shádi Khán, Bangash, of Mau, Yásín Khán's maternal uncle. Soon after, Muhammad Khán having quarrelled with Shádi Khán, left him, and with his seventeen followers, sought employment on his own account. Gradually all the Mau Patháns joined Muhammad Khán's standard. They went from the service of one Rájah to another, and in this manner many years were passed in the Dakhin and Bundelkhand.

Bundelkhand politics during the second half of the seventeenth century seem to be unusually obscure, and as I have not been able to verify them from other sources, I only give for what they are worth the one or two stories, relating to this early part of Muhammad Khán's career, which appear to have some sort of historical character. One is that when the Rájah of Datiya died, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Pirthi Singh, who at once set to work to turn out his brother, Rám Chand. The latter called in Muhammad Khán on the promise of a large sum of money, and with his aid Pirthi Singh was defeated, the Rájah being killed by Muhammad Khán's own hand. The Patháns had hardly reached Mau with their plunder when an emergent call for succour was received from Madár Sháh of Sipri† and Jalaun. He reported that Muhammad Amín Khán, with more than forty thousand imperial troops, was coming to overwhelm him. Muhammad Khán, hastily collecting all the men he had ready, marched to the Rájah's aid; but, before his arrival, the Rájah had already been forced to seek safety in flight. There were, however, several encounters between Muhammad Khán and Muhammad Amín Khán before a final peace was concluded.

The usual routine of these free-booting expeditions was for the leader to put himself at the head of from five hundred to a thousand men of his own and other clans. Muhammad Khán had by his boldness and bravery gained such a reputation, that all the Rájahs of the country trembled at his name. If he saw a village, town, or city weakly defended, he surrounded it, and sent to the headmen for his black mail (*nazaráná*). If one or two thousand rupees were forwarded, he went away—otherwise the place was

\* Gazetteer, N. W. P. I, 554. On the Betwa, 142 miles S. E. of Agra.

† About 55 miles west of Jhansi in Bundelkhand.



attacked and plundered. There was sometimes stiff fighting on these occasions, and stories are told of twelve and twenty men having been killed by Muhammad Khán's own hand in the assault on some rich fort. The reward was sometimes plunder to the value of four or five lakhs of rupees. †

Once in those days, Muhammad Khán, at the head of three hundred horsemen, made an attack on a fort, at the instigation of some Rájah. He first tried an assault but failed, and then had recourse to besieging, with no better result. The men inside made a valiant defence. Now, it so happened, that on one side of the fort was a large and deep piece of water. The Rájah, thinking that no one could attack him on that side, had left it quite unguarded. One night, at midnight, Muhammad Khán, taking with him several active men well armed, went into the tank and swam across to the foot (*fazíl*) of the fort wall. Climbing up by the aid of a tree they then jumped down into the fort. The Rájah was asleep close by; roused by their arrival, he got up and fled, calling upon his followers for aid. To save his life, he tried to hide in a room, but Muhammad Khán followed him into it and slew him. Meanwhile so many of the zamindars had collected, that all Muhammad Khán's companions were killed, and the door of the room was shut upon him. Muhammad Khán, after commending himself to God, fixed his shield into the shelf, and raised a beam by applying his head. He thus got through to the open air, with his ears all bleeding. When he had pushed half his body through the roof, the Rájah's women, whose apartments were close by, renewed hostilities by hurling at him their rice-pestles and brass vessels. This attack put him still more out of breath, but brushing the women aside, he clambered off the roof down the wall by the aid of the same tree. Then, swimming across the lake, he regained his camp. Next morning the zamindars evacuated the fort, paid up their money and made Muhammad Khán an offering, touching his feet humbly and saying, "*Khán jiu, tum manai náhin, deotá ho, tumhari sanmukh ke 'ham náhin hain.*" In his old age, the Nawáb Sáhib was fond of telling this story, saying, that though he had many a time been wounded, no pain had ever equalled that of pushing aside the rafters of that roof, and during an east wind the pain still troubled him.

Hitherto Muhammad Khán had been little more than a petty free-booter, and having reached the age of forty-five, there seemed every likelihood that he would so remain during the rest of his career. Chance, however, called him to higher honours on a wider stage, to which we now propose to follow him.

*Muhammad Khán enters the Imperial service.*

In February, 1712, (Muharram 1124, H.) Bahádur Sháh, successor of 'Alamgír Aurangzeb, died after a reign of five years. A struggle for the

succession then commenced between his sons. The victory remained with Mu'izz-ud-dín, who ascended the throne in June, 1712, under the title of Jahándár Sháh.

One of his brothers, 'Azim-us-shán, disputed the throne with Jahándár Sháh, but receiving a defeat retreated and was drowned in the river Rávi. 'Azim-us-shán had, however, on his departure from his government of Bengal, left at Rájmahal a son named Mirza Jalál-ud-dín Farrukhsiyar. This son determined to avenge his father. First he succeeded in persuading Husain 'Ali Khán, Súbahdár of Bihár, to espouse his cause. They were afterwards joined by 'Abdullah Khán, the elder brother of Husain 'Ali Khán, who held the Súbah of Allahábád.

Husain 'Ali Khán and Farrukhsiyar had not yet reached Allahábád on their march from Patna 'Azimábád, when Sayyad 'Abd-ul Ghaffár Khán Gardezi, sent by Jahándár Sháh at the head of ten to twelve thousand men, attacked 'Abdullah Khán at Allahábád. 'Abdullah Khán withdrew to the fort and sent one of his younger brothers to meet the enemy in the field. On cries arising that 'Abd-ul Ghaffár Khán was dead, his troops turned and fled.

On hearing of this defeat, Jahándár Sháh sent off his son, 'Azz-ud-dín, with fifty thousand men under Khwája Ahsán Khán. 'Azz-ud-dín had marched from Agra and had reached Khajwah,\* when hearing that Husain 'Ali Khán and Farrukhsiyar had joined 'Abdullah Khán, he halted and began to entrench himself. Farrukhsiyar advanced on him with 'Abdullah Khán in the vanguard, batteries were prepared, and an artillery fight went on from sunset till the third watch of the night. Losing heart, the prince 'Azz-ud-dín and his Commander-in-Chief fled a little before day-break; and finding they were deserted by their leaders, the army dispersed. The camp and its contents fell into the hands of Farrukhsiyar.

From Khajwah letters were sent in all directions, calling for aid from all noted chiefs and partizan leaders; among others a royal "Shukka" and a letter from the Sayyad brothers were sent to Muhammad Khán, who was then in Gohad territory with a force of eight or nine thousand men. Sáhíb Ráe Káyath, who had been his secretary from 1105 H. (Aug. 1693—Aug. 1694)† was sent to find out which side was most likely to succeed. On receiving his report, Muhammad Khán marched and joined Farrukhsiyar at Khajwah with twelve thousand men.‡

\* In the Fathpur district, on the Grand Trunk Road, some twenty-one miles north-west of Fathpur.

† This date seems impossible, it is, however, that given in the "Laḥ."‡

‡ The "Life of Háfíz Rahmat Khán" (p. 32) says he had only twenty-five men. This is not consistent with the rewards conferred on him for his services, and the number in the text is more likely to be correct, seeing that Muhammad Khán had been leading a predatory life with success for over twenty years.

The contending Emperors at length met on the field of Samogar, nine miles east of Agra, in the parganah of Fathábád,\* where the decisive battle was fought on the 14th Zi'l'hajj, 1124, H. (1st January, 1713). Though there is no mention of him in the standard histories such as the "*Siyar-ul Mutákharrín*,"† there can be no doubt that Muhammad Khán bore himself bravely in the van under the immediate eye of Sayyad 'Abdullah Khán.‡ One of his lieutenants, Sher Muhammad Khán, lost his life. Jahándár Sháh quitted the field near sunset, and after a time his chief supporter, Zúlfikár Khán, also withdrew. Victory thus declared itself for Farrukhsiyar.

On the 15th Zi'l'hajj, the day after the battle, Chín Kílich Khán, 'Abd-us Samad Khán, and Muhammad Amin Khán were presented by Sayyad 'Abdullah Khán, and made their submission. 'Abdullah Khán, with Luṭfullah Khán and other nobles, was sent on to prepare the way at Delhi. A week afterwards Farrukhsiyar set out for the capital. On the 14th Muharram 1125 H. (30th January 1713), the new Emperor halted at Bárahpul near the city. Honours and rewards were distributed. Among others, Muhammad Khán was presented by the Sayyad brothers. He was invested with a dress of honour and received an elephant, a horse, a palki, a shield, a sword with jewelled hilt, a jewelled aigrette, a turban ornament (*jigha*), a fish ensign, kettle-drums and standards, besides assignments of revenue. At the same time he was raised to the rank of a Commander of four thousand. From that day he was styled Nawáb.

¶ The following parganahs, all in Bundelkhand, were assigned to Muhammad Khán for the support of his troops.

- |             |               |
|-------------|---------------|
| 1. Iríh. §  | 3. Kálpi. ¶   |
| 2. Bhándér. \|\| | 4. Kúnych. ** |

\* Proc. B. A. S., for August, 1870, p. 252.

† The author of the "*Siyar-ul Mutákharrín*" seems to have borne a grudge against Muhammad Khán, his name is omitted wherever possible, if he is named, it is only to depreciate him, nor is he ever accorded the simplest title, with which, as usual in native historians, men no more distinguished than he, are lavishly indulged. Grant Duff (p. 351) remarks on this author's prejudice against Afgháns. In one passage (*Sul-M. Translation of 1789, Vol. III, p. 240.*) he denounces them heartily as all bad.

‡ See Muhammad Khán's biography in the *Tárikh-i-Muzaffarí* under the year 1156 H.

§ Gaz. N. W. P. I., 423. A town in Parg. Moth, Jhansi District, 42 m. N. of Jhansi.

|| Gaz. N. W. P. I., 392. A parganah and town, formerly in the Datiya state but ceded to the Maháttas in 1748. It is now in the district of Jhansi, and the town, on the Pahúj, is 24 m. from Jhansi.

¶ Gaz. N. W. P. I., 474. A town and parganah in the Jalaun district. The town is on the right bank of the Jamna.

\*\* Gaz. N. W. P. I., 505. A town and parganah in the Jalaun district. The town is 42 m. from Kálpi. Kúnych was a mahál of Sirkár Iríh.

- |              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| 5. Seondah.* | 7. Síprí.†  |
| 6. Maudah.‡  | 8. Jálaun § |

The following men were deputed to manage these maháls—Daler Khán, chela, was posted to Kúnych, Seondah, and Maudah; Ahmad Khán, Warakzai, to Iriehh and Bhándér; Pír Khán, paternal uncle of the Bibi Sáhíba, Nawáb Muhammad Khán's principal wife, to Kálpí; Shuj'at Khán, Ghilzai, to Síprí and Jalaun. †

*Muhammad Khán founds Káimganj, Muhamdábád, and Farrukhábád.*

In the first year of Farrukhsíyar's reign, Muhammad Khán was despatched on two expeditions against the Rajah of Anupshahr and Rajah Medá. The first named was speedily reduced to submission; and the latter having been made a prisoner, was sent to the Emperor by the hands of Dáúd Khán, chela.

Muhammad Khán then obtained leave to return to his home, where he began to found a town a little south-west of Mau, within the lands of Chaloli, Mau-Rashídábád, Kuberpur and Subbánpur, and to it he gave the name of Káimganj in honour of his eldest son Káim Khán. It is now a place of considerable trade, it had 10,323 inhabitants in 1872, and is the head quarters of the tahsil. It is 21 miles north-west of Farrukhábád.

In the same year the fort and town of Muhamdábád, 14 miles south-west of Farrukhábád were founded, portions of five villages: (1), Kilmápúr; (2), Kabírpúr; (3), Rohila; (4), Muhammadpur, and (5) Takípúr having been taken for the purpose. Tradition gives the following reason for selecting this site.|| Before the first Muhammadan invasion a group of twenty-seven villages had been given by the Rajah of Khor (now known as Shamshábád) to Kharowah Káyaths in his service. Before Muhammad Khán had risen to fame, and was still little more than a common trooper, he tried to persuade Har Parshád, kanúngo, to record him as the jágírdár of a village on the Káli in Tappa 'Azimnagar (now in the Eta District). The kanungo refused to do so without superior order. When Muhammad Khán rose to power, he recollected this; and selecting the high mound in the Kayath's land known as "Kal ká khepa", built on it the fort

\* Gaz. N. W. P. I, 582. A town and parganah in tahsili Girwán of the Banda district. The town is 11 m. from Banda.

† Gaz. N. W. P. I, 545. A town and parganah in the Hamírpur District. The town is 20 m. from Hamírpur.

‡ In the Gwáliar state, some 60 miles north of Sironj in the Tonk state, and about 55 m. west of Jhánsi.

§ Gaz. N. W. P. I, 433. A parganah, tahsil, and town in the district of Jalaun.

|| Káli Ráe's "Fatehgarhnámah," p. 117.

of Muhamdábád. In one of the bastions, still known as the "Ráe Sáhib ká burj", Har Parshád, kanúngo, was built up alive. The old abandoned fort and the large lake just beneath it were owned and held, up to 1857, by the Nawáb Ra'is for the time being. Muhamdábád is a smaller place than Káimganj, but is still of some importance as the head-quarters of a Police division, and as the first halting-stage on the road from Farrukhábád to Mainpuri.

Parmanagar, the chief town of parganah Parmanagar, on the left bank of the Ganges, in the Farrukhábád District, is sometimes called Muhammadganj, after Nawáb Muhammad Khán, but the date of foundation is not known.

### *The City of Farrukhábád.*

Nawáb Muhammad Khán's next undertaking was on a very different scale. He now set to work to found a city which, even in its present decaying state, counts as one of the principal places of Northern India. Residence at Mau must have been disagreeable to the new Nawáb. The Patháns would not allow him to ride on an elephant through the streets, for fear of their women's privacy being infringed. Afrídis, Toyahs, and Khánzádahs were numerous, but the Bangash were very few. If the Nawáb ever did pass by, the Afrídi boys threw clay pellets at him. To avoid this Muhammad Khán used to come out of the town, and mount his elephant near the tomb of Rahmat Khán, the martyr.\* Often did he complain to the Bibi Sáhiba of the way these Patháns tried his patience.

An occasion for the acquisition of land for a site with the Emperor's consent soon presented itself. Kásim Khán, Bangash, father of the Bibi Sáhiba, first wife of Nawáb Muhammad Khán, was a soldier of fortune who had risen to the command of some three hundred men, in the service of some Rajah of the South. In 1126 H. (6th Jan. 1714 to 27th Dec. 1714) Kásim Khán was on his way home to Mau with all his wealth. Near where the native infantry lines and the European barracks now stand, a place then covered with jungle, he was set on by a Thákur Rájah of the Bamtela† tribe, whose villages were in the direction of Muhamdábád. Hundreds of men followed this Rájah in his plundering forays up to the bank of the Ganges and as far west as Mau. Kásim Khán and his party defended themselves bravely, but were at length overpowered and slain. He was buried where he fell. One ruined arch of his tomb still stands, in the middle of an enclosure surrounded with palm trees. A mango grove was planted to the west of the tomb, and the name of the village changed from Jamálpur to Kásim Bágh, under which name it was known in the revenue records till it was absorbed within the boundaries of the Fatehgarh cantonment.‡

\* See note on Khánzádahs. † Note No. B. on the Bamtelas. ‡ Kálí Rae, p. 120.

The survivors of Kásim Khán's party arrived the next morning at Mau. To console his wife, Muhammad Khán set out for Delhi. There he was graciously received by the Emperor Farrukhsiyar who, by way of price for her father's blood, made over to the Bibi Sáhíba the whole fifty-two of the Bamtela villages. Muhammad Khán received a dress of honour, and they say he was made Názim of Gwáliyar: the truth of this latter statement is, however, extremely doubtful. The Emperor expressed a wish that a city called after his name\* should be founded on the spot where Kásim Khán was killed, and that the fifty-two Bamtela villages should be included within its walls.

No better site could have been selected than that chosen for his city by Muhammad Khán. The strip of land along the right bank of the Ganges from Kampil to Kanauj is one of the most thickly-peopled and the most fertile in Northern India. There is abundance of water, for from the firmness of the subsoil, wells can be dug at pleasure; and the native saying is true without exaggeration, that in Farrukhábád there is a well in every house. They say that before the city was founded the Nawáb once came by chance to the high mound, the site of a Dhi or abandoned village, where the city fort now stands.\* The Ganges then flowed much nearer than it does now, and a delightful view extended on all sides to a distance of several miles. The Nawáb took a liking to the place, and said that a dwelling-house there would be very pleasant. In the *tarai* or low land the Patháns shot many alligators and crocodiles (*magar* and *goh*). There were quantities of wild geese and other game; they even say that the high grass and reeds concealed tigers, which sometimes devoured men.†

In truth, there is to this day no pleasanter view in the whole of the plains of Upper India than that obtained at all seasons from the fort of Farrukhábád. Passing the tiled bungalow used for the Munsiff's Court-house and the square unshapely mass of the tahsil building, we wend our way up to the pretty garden at the summit. There we pause a moment to take our breath, and admire the grandiose outline of Mr. C. R. Lindsay's Town Hall. As we turn with our face to the north, our gaze first falls on the ruins of the once magnificent pleasure-house of the Nawáb in the Páen Bágh; further on, the eye rests delighted on the slender minarets of the Karbala; beyond stretches all that remains of the Nawáb's hunting-ground or Ramna, still dotted here and there with trees; and closing in the horizon

\* Farrukhábád was sometimes styled *Ahmadnagar* Farrukhábád, as in the coin of Sháhjáhán II. struck there in 1174, H. (Proc. B. A. S., July, 1876, p. 133,) and in the Persian accounts of 1209 and 1210, Fusli (1801-1802) preserved in the Collector's office. It got the second name, I suppose, in Ahmad Khán's time (1750-1771).

† This is really not so improbable as it sounds to us now, for so late as 1803 tigers were shot along the Ganges below Kanauj. See Major Thorn's "Memoir of the War in India."

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The survivors of Kásim Khán's party arrived the next morning at Mau. To console his wife, Muhammad Khán set out for Delhi. There he was graciously received by the Emperor Farrukhsiyar who, by way of price for her father's blood, made over to the Bibi Sáhiba the whole fifty-two of the Bamtela villages. Muhammad Khán received a dress of honour, and they say he was made Názim of Gwáliyár: the truth of this latter statement is, however, extremely doubtful. The Emperor expressed a wish that a city called after his name\* should be founded on the spot where Kásim Khán was killed, and that the fifty-two Bamtela villages should be included within its walls.

No better site could have been selected than that chosen for his city by Muhammad Khán. The strip of land along the right bank of the Ganges from Kampil to Kanauj is one of the most thickly-peopled and the most fertile in Northern India. There is abundance of water, for from the firmness of the subsoil, wells can be dug at pleasure; and the native saying is true without exaggeration, that in Farrukhábád there is a well in every house. They say that before the city was founded the Nawáb once came by chance to the high mound, the site of a Dhi or abandoned village, where the city fort now stands.\* The Ganges then flowed much nearer than it does now, and a delightful view extended on all sides to a distance of several miles. The Nawáb took a liking to the place, and said that a dwelling-house there would be very pleasant. In the *tarai* or low land the Patháns shot many alligators and crocodiles (*magar* and *goh*). There were quantities of wild geese and other game; they even say that the high grass and reeds concealed tigers, which sometimes devoured men.†

In truth, there is to this day no pleasanter view in the whole of the plains of Upper India than that obtained at all seasons from the fort of Farrukhábád. Passing the tiled bungalow used for the Munsiff's Court-house and the square unshapely mass of the tahsil building, we wend our way up to the pretty garden at the summit. There we pause a moment to take our breath, and admire the grandiose outline of Mr. C. R. Lindsay's Town Hall. As we turn with our face to the north, our gaze first falls on the ruins of the once magnificent pleasure-house of the Nawáb in the Páen Bágh; further on, the eye rests delighted on the slender minarets of the Karbala; beyond stretches all that remains of the Nawáb's hunting-ground or Ramna, still dotted here and there with trees; and closing in the horizon

\* Farrukhábád was sometimes styled *Ahmadnagar* Farrukhábád, as in the coin of Sháhjáhán II. struck there in 1174, H. (Proc. B. A. S.; July, 1876, p. 138.) and in the Persian accounts of 1209 and 1210, Fusli (1801-1802) preserved in the Collector's office. It got the second name, I suppose, in Ahmad Khán's time (1750-1771).

† This is really not so improbable as it sounds to us now, for so late as 1803 tigers were shot along the Ganges below Kanauj. See Major Thorn's "Memoir of the War in India."

is the faint silver streak of the Ganges. Turning half round to the right we see the city, looking like a vast wood of deep-shaded Nim trees, from which there peeps here and there a corner of the double-storied mansion of some Sáhib-záda or wealthy banker. Turning back again and looking westwards, we find before us the domed tombs of the former rulers, of Ahmad Khán in the Bihisht Bágh within the walls, of Muhammad Khán and Kaim Khán further on beyond the Mau gate.

In 1126 H. (Jan. 6th 1714—Dec 27th 1714,) the foundations were laid under the auspices of Nekkám Khán, chela. The date is denoted by the words "Allah Ghani" which were commonly used in the family at the head of documents. All the buildings at Farrukhábád or Muhamdábád were built after the plans and under the care of Adam, mason, whose name used to be seen on the inscription of one of the fort gateways now destroyed. We learn from a scolding letter to Yákúb Khán, about the dilatoriness and dishonesty of one Muhammad Dánish, that the rates of wages were then, labourers two *fulús* or pyce a day, skilled bricklayers, five *fulús* a day, and those imperfectly skilled four *fulús*. The wages were to be paid direct to the men every night.

The Bamtelas did not resign their ancient possessions without a struggle. The work of building the city wall went on by day, but the Bamtelas, who lived all round, came in force every night and knocked the wall down again. They also destroyed some of the buildings in the fort. To get rid of the annoyance caused by these turbulent Thákurs, Muhammad Khán called in the imperial troops who were stationed at intervals round the city. The Bamtelas were ejected from the nearer villages, and any villagers aiding them were severely punished. The imperial forces remained till the city was well established, when their places were taken by the Nawáb's own men.

✕ Aid was also obtained from friendly Rájáhs. They relate that Rájáh Tilak Singh Gaur of Sirolí, Parganah Shamsahábád East, ten or eleven miles south-west of Farrukhábád, unable from old age to come himself, sent his son Akbar Sáh (afterwards a chela under the name of Purdil Khán), aged fifteen or sixteen, at the head of seven hundred Rájputs of his own clan. They were posted just outside the Mau Darwáza where the Bamtelas usually passed. They had been there a week or ten days when the Bamtelas as usual came to damage the wall. This time they went round to the Kutb gate, on the north face of the city, and effected an entrance. Akbar Sáh Gaur drew out his men, and there was a good deal of fighting. On the one side three hundred and on the other five hundred men were killed. Lál Sáh, the head of all the Bamtelas, was wounded and made prisoner. ✕

In spite of these interruptions Nekkám Khán, chela, had laid out the fort, to which he made three gates opening to the north. He also dug a

ditch as deep as the height of a man, and set up twenty earthen bastions. These, in 1839, could still be traced, though even then they had fallen out of repair. Not a vestige now remains. The same chela also built a palace, a mosque, and a hall of audience. The palace was called the Bará Mahal. In 1839 only the Bárahdari was left, the rest of the site was occupied by the private garden of Mukhtár Mahal, widow of the deceased Nawáb Shaukat Jang. The mosque was known as the "Bari Masjid," and the audience hall was called the "Bara Diwán-Khána." This latter was demolished by Nawáb Muzaffar Jang (1771—1796); and Nawáb Násir Jang (1766—1813) built a dwelling-house (kothi) on the spot. There were several shops of petty traders within the fort, but at first there were no other buildings except the above. After the mutiny, the Nawáb's palace was entirely dismantled; and beyond a small mosque, which may be the one referred to, there is not a trace left of any building in existence at the time of the mutiny.

There were twelve gates to the city: 1, Kutb gate; 2, Páen gate (also called the Husaini gate); 3, Gangá gate; 4, Amethi gate; 5, Kádírí gate; 6, Lál gate; 7, Madár gate; 8, Dhaláwal gate; 9, Khañdiya gate; 10, Jasmai gate; 11, Taráen gate; 12, Mau gate. The first, eighth, and eleventh are now closed; Amethi, Dhaláwal and Jasmai are the names of adjoining villages; the other names explain themselves.

To seven of the gates, saráis were attached, so that from whatever direction a traveller arrived, he might find a convenient resting-place. The Mau sarái near the gate of that name, was erected by the Bibi Sáhíba, the Nawáb's wife. A sarái at the Jasmai gate was half built, then knocked down; the land was owned (1839) by the sons of Nawáb Azim Khán; at the Madár gate was a brick-built sarái, where now stands the Madár bári built by Nawáb Muzaffar Jang, which, in 1839, was occupied by the son of Muhammad 'Ali Khán, *alias* Bulákí, son of Dildaler Khán and nephew of Muzaffar Jang. There was also a brick sarái at the Amethi gate opposite the Angúri bág; this the Nawáb's descendants have demolished, and they have sold the materials, the site is used for the sale of wood and thatching-grass. A substantial sarái was also built near the Lál gate, which we English have taken to pieces and rebuilt after our own fashion.\*

At each gate were stationed five hundred armed men and two guns, one on each side. The Nawáb's sons and slaves (Khánazáds), who had troops in their pay, were allotted places of abode round the outer part of the city. It was intended that money-changers, merchants, and the working-classes generally, should occupy the centre. The whole was surrounded by an earthen wall. For each of his twenty-two sons, Muhammad Khán built a brick fort and women's apartments. At each house he planted a private garden (Khána bág) surrounded with a high wall. Round the city

\* This was done by Mr. Newnham, Collector, in 1825.

wall was a ditch, with sloped and levelled sides, fifteen yards wide and thirty feet deep. So long as Muhammad Khán lived, this ditch was cleaned every day, and the gates were kept in good order.

Round the fort were the houses of the chelas who were on duty day and night. Many groves were planted, especially noteworthy were the Naulakha and Bihár Bághs beneath the fort, which did not contain any mango trees, but consisted entirely of guava, ber, custard-apple and orange trees. The Nawáb's sons and chelas had orders to plant groves outside the city wherever they pleased. The soil is very favourable to the mango and it comes to great perfection; the water-melons are also very large and sweet and plentiful.

Two entire villages, Bhíkampura and Deothán, were included within the walls, besides portions of other villages. It was intended that each trade should occupy a separate bazar, hence we have the quarters named after trades such as Kasarhaṭṭa (braziers), Pasarhaṭṭa (druggists), Śaráfá (money-changers), Lohai (iron-mongers), Núnhai (salt-dealers), Khandhai (sugar-merchants), and so forth. Other quarters were set aside for particular castes, such as Khatrána (for the Khatris), Mochiána (for shoe-makers), Koliána (for Hindu weavers), Sadhwára (for Sádhs), Bamanpuri (for Brahmans), Juláhpura (for Mussulman weavers), Rastogi muhalla, Agarwál muhalla, Kághazi muhalla (for paper-makers), Mahájanpura, Bangashpura, Khaṭakpura, Sayyadpura, and so on. This arrangement has been upset in more recent times, and the castes have become more or less mixed. Still it is observed to some extent, for I doubt if a single Sádhi lives outside the Sadhwára, and its offshoot the Sáhiganj muhalla.

#### *Events from 1719 to 1726.*

During the reign of Farrukhsiyar, Nawáb Muhammad Khán would appear to have attended Court seldom, being occupied with the founding of Farrukhábád. Meanwhile Delhi had been the scene of much intrigue. On the 9th Rabi II, 1131 H. (18th Feb. 1719) the Sayyad brothers,\* 'Abdullah Khán and Husain 'Ali Khán, had deposed and imprisoned the Emperor Farrukhsiyar. After the short reigns of two boys successively raised to the throne, Abul Fath Násir-uddin, entitled Muhammad Sháh, succeeded on the 15th Zi'l Ka'd, 1131 H.† (18th Sept. 1719), his reign counting, however, from the deposition of Farrukhsiyar. After intrigues against the power of the Sayyads, with which we need not concern ourselves here, it was agreed that Husain 'Ali Khán, accompanied by the Emperor, should march to reduce the revolted provinces of the Dakhin. The march of the Sayyad began at the end of Shawwál‡ (end of August 1720). On the 9th Zi'l Ka'd, 1132 H. (3rd Sept. 1720), the Emperor made a first march from

\* Siyar-ul Mutákharrin 418 (Lakhnau Edition). † S-ul-M 422. ‡ S-ul-M. 433.

Agra of three *kos*, accompanied by 'Abdullah Khán. He wished to halt till the 15th, the anniversary of his accession. Husain Ali Khán, however, urged an advance, and on the 14th (8th Sept. 1720) the army marched to a little beyond Fathpur Sikri. After four or five days they moved on southwards. 'Abdullah Khán remained behind, and on the 19th Zi'l Ka'd (13th Sept. 1720), he started for Delhi.

Then follows in the "Siyar-ul Mutákharrín" a statement, damaging to Nawáb Muhammad Khán's reputation, which I quote. "On the road to Delhi\* Muhammad Khán, Bangash, came to visit 'Abdullah Khán and expressed his desire to march and join Husain 'Ali Khán in his campaign of the Dakhin, were he not prevented by want of means. He received fifty thousand rupees, in addition to the several lakhs of rupees which Husain 'Ali Khán had paid him to induce him to start. Then, with a lie which looked like truth, he said he was going to the Emperor's camp. He took his leave, and 'Abdullah Khán resumed his march to Delhi."

On the 6th Zi'l Hajj, 1132 H. (30th Sept. 1720) when about thirty-five *kos* beyond Fathpur Sikri, Husain 'Ali Khán was assassinated with the Emperor's knowledge and consent. A return to Agra then commenced. As soon as he received word of his brother's death, 'Abdullah Khán raised to the throne Sultán Ibráhim, son of Raf'-ul Qadr, son of Bahádur Sháh.† This was on the 11th Zi'l Hajj, 1132 (5th Oct., 1720). A few days were spent in collecting such an army as could be got together in the time. On the 17th Zi'l Hajj, 1132 H. (11th Oct., 1720) 'Abdullah Khán started from Delhi.

On the 9th Muharram 1133 H. (30th Oct., 1720) Muhammad Sháh's camp left Sháhpur. It was here that Muhammad Khán, after a good deal of wavering and consultation with his friends, such as Shuj'at Khán Ghilzai and others, threw in his lot with the Emperor and joined him with three thousand men.‡ It is said that 'Abdullah Khán had written to him reminding him of the many favours he had received, and requesting aid at this crisis. If they gained the day, he would make Muhammad Khán first in the whole kingdom. But a *farmán* from Muhammad Sháh, another from his mother, Qudsia Begam, and letters from the nobles, arrived about the same time. Self-interest and perhaps some faint respect for the reigning house, appear to have carried the day.

When Kutb-ul Mulk 'Abdullah Khán reached Hasanpur§ three *kos* from the Emperor's camp, he halted. On the 12th Muharram, 1133 H. (2nd

\* S-ul-M. 433.

† S-ul-M. 437 and 438.

‡ S-ul-M. 439.

§ Hasanpur lies, I believe, close to the town of Ol, in Parganah Faráh of the Agra District, some twenty-four miles north-west of Agra.

Nov., 1720) he placed his army in battle array. The battle began early on the 4th November and lasted all that day and night. On the 5th, after 'Abdullah Khán had descended from his elephant to fight on foot, he was wounded by an arrow in the forehead. Haidar Kuli Khán recognizing him, took him and his brother Najm-ud-din 'Ali Khán prisoners, put them on an elephant, and conveyed them to the Emperor. The drums then beat to victory. Muhammad Khán in this hotly contested battle appears to have fought in the main body. In Sáhib Ráe's collection, there is a long letter from Muhammad Khán to Rájáh Jai Singh Sawáe describing the battle, but there are no personal details. The Nawáb for his services was promised six lakhs of rupees on receipt of treasure from Bengal, but the money was never paid.

\*If the local myth were to be believed, Muhammad Khán played a much more dramatic part than history accords him. The story goes that Muhammad Khán with his whole force moved down on 'Abdullah Khán. On the Nawáb's elephant, seated behind him, were Mukím Khán and Dáúd Khán, chelas. The elephant was driven close to that of Sayyad 'Abdullah Khán and Muhammad Khán gave him "*Salám 'alaikum.*" The Sayyad with a "*Wa 'alaikum*" stretched out his hand from the howdah to be kissed. Muhammad Khán then threw his silken girdle round it, and dragged the Sayyad out of his howdah. From the jerk 'Abdullah Khán's turban fell off, and Muhammad Khán threw him down a Kashmir shawl to wind round his head. The Sayyad refused to take it and, looking towards Muhammad Khán, spat at him. Mukím Khán and Dáúd Khán sprang down and seized Sayyad 'Abdullah Khán, the former taking his shield and the latter his sword. An attempt at rescue was foiled and about midday the Nawáb reached camp with his prisoner; on a demand from the Emperor the Sayyad was made over to him. The shield remained with Allahdád Khán, son of Nawáb Mukím Khán, up to the time of Nawáb Shaukat Jang (1813-1823); and Nawáb Amín-ud-daula used often to send for it, and highly extol the valour by which it had been won. \*

On the 16th Muharram, 1133 H. (6th Nov., 1720)\* the Emperor Muhammad Sháh marched for Delhi; and advancing quickly he reached it on the 19th (9th Nov., 1720) and encamped for two days near the pillar of Khwája Nizám-ud-din. Those who had distinguished themselves were presented. On this occasion Muhammad Khán, who had been made a Commander of six thousand on Muhammad Sháh's accession, was increased to the rank of *Haft Hazári* 7000 horse. He received a *khilat* with seven lakhs of rupees in cash, he was granted the title of Ghazanfar Jang "The Lion of War", and the parganahs of Bhojpur and Shamshábád, both



in the modern district of Farrukhabad, were added to his former jagirs. He was soon after appointed Subahdár of Allahabad (between 22nd Oct., 1720 and 11th Oct., 1721).<sup>\*</sup> At this time, his 'Amils or subordinate governors were for Allahabad, Bhúre Khán, chela; for Irichh, Bhándér and Kálpí, Daler Khán, chela; for Sípri and Jalaun, Kamál Khán; for Bhojpur, Neknám Khán, chela; for Shamshabad, Dáúd Khán, chela; for Budáon, Sahaswán (now both in the Budáon district) and Mihrabad (now in the Sháhjahánpur district), Shamsher Khán, chela.

† In 1135 H. (1st Oct., 1722—20th Sept. 1723) Samsám-ud-daula procured a grant of the Subah of Agra in favour of Rájáh Jai Singh Sawáie. † Jai Singh soon after marched against Churáman Ját, to punish him for having sided with the late Wazír, 'Abdullah Khán. Mukkam Singh, son of Churáman, insulted‡ his father in open darbár, and rather than bear the disgrace the father committed suicide. Badan Singh, nephew of Churáman, sided with Rájáh Jai Singh. The fort of Thún was occupied on the 9th Safar, 1135 H. (8th Nov., 1722), and Badan Singh, who was father of Suraj Mall, then succeeded to the territory. In this campaign Muhammad Khán bore a part. ‡

In the fifth year (Jan. 1723 to Dec. 1723), Muhammad Khán went with the army under the command of Sharf-ud-daula Irádatmand Khán and Rájáh Jai Singh, sent to chastise Ajít Singh Rathor, Rájáh of Márwár. Before the army could reach his territory, Ajít Singh was assassinated by his son Bakht Singh.§ Through the mediation of Nawáb Muhammad Khán, Dhonkal Singh made his submission to the Emperor.||

Muhammad Khán had barely reached Mairtha with Abhai Singh *alias* Dhonkal, when he was recalled to undertake the recovery of Bundelkhand from Chattarsál. Six months were employed on this duty, when on receipt of intelligence that Mubáriz Khán, faujdár of Burhánpur, had been killed, he was ordered to return from Bundelkhand to the Duáb, and thence to proceed by way of Akbarabad to Gwályár to meet an irruption of the Mahrattas. Báji Ráo had appeared north of the Narbada, had attacked

\* The local MSS. say Agra, but I think this must be a mistake. For some disparaging remarks about Muhammad Khán in regard to this Allahabad appointment, see S-ul-M. 451, line 5 from end.

† S-ul-M. p. 456.

‡ S-ul-M. p. 439.

§ Tod (Madras Reprint, 1873,) Vols. I, 636 and II, 81 gives the date about 1780 S., corresponding to July, 1723.

|| Muhammad Khán is not named in the list of Musalmán leaders in Tod, II, 80, but the same authority shows that Dhonkal, or the exterminator, was a nickname of Abhai Singh, son of Ajít Singh. The "Tarikh-i-Hind" mentions Muhammad Khán [Dowson's Elliot, VIII, 44.]



Girdhar Bahádur, the Imperial Governor of Málwa, and for two seasons (1725—1726), had obtained plunder and contributions.\* Muhammad Khán was appointed to the command of five thousand men, with two lakhs of rupees a month for their pay. He waited at Akbarábád to receive the money and was then told to go on to Gwáliár, where he entertained nearly ten thousand horsemen, and lay there idle for seven months.

On his way back from the above expedition, Muhammad Khán was asked by Khán Daurán Khán, who then held in jágir parganahs Bhongám† and Tálgrám,‡ to send two thousand men to aid Mahtya Sadánand in reducing to submission Jaswant Singh, zamindár of Mainpuri. The traditional story is, that the Chauhán Rájáh, Dalíp Singh, neglected to pay his respects to the Nawáb, and Bhúre Khán with five hundred horse was sent to bring him. When the Rájáh came before the Nawáb, he delayed in making his salám, and Bhúre Khán bent his neck down with his hand. The Rájáh freeing himself drew his sword. Then the Nawáb sent an arrow at him and hit him in the head so that he died on the spot. His son, Jaswant Singh, was appointed his successor and the Nawáb resumed his road to Farrukhábád.§

#### *Bundelkhand Affairs.*

† We have already seen,|| that the jágirs given to Muhammad Khán in the reign of Farrukhsiyar and the early part of that of Muhammad Sháh, lay mostly in Bundelkhand. Farrukhsiyar (1713—1719) granted him the parganahs of Sehand¶ and Maudah\*\* in jágir: to the charge of these Daler Khán, chela was appointed. In the first year of Muhammad Sháh's reign (Feb. 1719—Feb. 1720) a *tankhwah* was granted on Kálpi,†† Iriohh,‡‡ and other places in Bundelkhand.

In the same year, 1719—1720, it was reported that the Bundelas had plundered Kálpi, had killed Pír 'Ali Khán, Muhammad Khán's 'Ámil, and his son. They seized the women and children of the respectable Muhammadans, and knocked down their houses, mosques and tombs. Nawáb Burhán-ul Mulk then asked that the Mughuls might be sent against the

\* Grant Duff, 218, Bombay reprint, 1873.

† In the Mainpuri District.

‡ In the Farrukhábád District.

§ Gaz. IV. 550, 552. Jaswant Singh's accession took place in 1783 S. = 1726

A. D.

|| P. 274.

¶ Twelve miles south of Bánda.

\*\* In the Hamírpur District.

†† On the Jamna, in the Jalaun District.

‡‡ In the Jhansi District.

invaders, but the Emperor confided their chastisement to Muhammad Khán. Daler Khán, chela, was ordered off with a proper force, and marching rapidly he ejected the *Thánas* of the enemy from the parganahs of Kálpi and Jalálpur.\* The inhabitants then began to return to the plundered towns.

At this period Nawáb Amín-ud-din 'Itimád-ud-daula passed away.† Some of his enemies considered that Muhammad Khán had been favoured by the late Wazír, and they caused letters to be written to the Rájáhs of Chanderi and Orchha and to other zamindárs, instigating them to resistance. The Hindus assembled to the number of thirty thousand horse, besides countless infantry.

Káim Khán, the Nawáb's son, then faujdár of Sarkár Ghorá, had meanwhile been besieging for a year the town of Tarahwán,‡ the residence of Pahár Singh. This place had four forts, very strong, surrounded with jungle, steep ravines, and difficult passages through the hills. Káim Khán had with him ten thousand horse, and by the greatest exertions he succeeded in capturing the fortress. He then made ready to march to the aid of Daler Khán.

Muhammad Khán now represented to the Emperor, that if the punishment of the rebels were not heartily desired, the army had better be recalled. The Emperor encouraged Muhammad Khán to persevere. But he, discouraged by the number of letters sent by his enemies to the Hindu Rájáhs, wrote repeatedly to Daler Khán enjoining him to restore the forts and villages of the enemy. Times had changed and the campaign must be relinquished. Despite these orders, Daler Khán, in the pride of his courage and resolution, thought not of the superiority of the enemy and refused to withdraw from offensive operations.

On the 29th Rajab of the 3rd year of the reign (1133 H., 13th May, 1721) Chattarsál advanced with nearly thirty thousand horse and a numerous artillery. Daler Khán with the force he had, some four thousand horse and foot, prepared for the attack. He rode at the enemy at the head of five hundred men, and threw them into confusion. By the fickleness of fortune he now received, besides sword and spear wounds, two bullet shots, one in the forehead and one in the breast. He expired on the spot, and his five hundred companions, after prodigies of valour, were all slain.§ When the emperor, Muhammad Sháh, heard of Daler Khán's death, he made a present to Muhammad Khán, by way of consolation, of a jewelled aigrette and a khilat.||

\* In the Hamirpur District.

† He died in Rabi 1133 H. (January 1721).

‡ In the Bánda District, 42 miles east of Bánda. Gaz. N. W. P. I, 593.

§ The "Siyar-ul-Mutakhárin," p. 452, says Daler Khán had 1000 men with him, of whom 700 or 800 were killed.

|| S-ul-M. p. 452.

Daler Khán, chela, was by birth a Bundela Thákur.\* He is famed for his bravery, but he seems to have been very lavish and extravagant in his management. He spent one year's income in equipping a body of seventeen hundred horse, magnificently clad and armed. When the Nawáb sent urgent orders for remittance of revenue, Daler Khán marched with his regiment and halted where is now the Páen Bágh below the fort. Attending darbar, he made each of his men present a gold coin as "nazr." Daler Khán then took up the Nawáb's shoes and stood behind his seat, saying, "I am only fit to carry your shoes, you may give the Súbah to whom you like, one who will bring you heaps of money; these seventeen hundred men are all the revenue you will get from me." This made the Nawáb smile, he embraced Daler Khán and sent him back to his district.

Daler Khán took part in nearly all the campaigns in which Muhammad Khán was engaged. The Patháns and the Bundelas on account of his bravery, styled him "Súrmán" (brave, bold), the mark of which is that a man's arms are so long that his hands touch his knees when standing upright. Daler Khán had this peculiarity. †

The traditionary account of his death is as follows: One day Daler Khán had gone out to shoot followed by only three hundred horse, the rest being left in camp. A scout brought word to Rájah Chattarsál, who came out with a large force. Both sides began to fire. Nawáb Daler Khán's companions advised a retreat. He refused, with the remark, "One must die sooner or later." Then reciting the final prayer (*Elítiha*) and taking up his horse's rein to urge him on, he rode straight into the Rájah's army and, cutting his way through, came clear out on the other side. Numbers of the Bundelas were killed. He then made for the Rájah's howdah, and at this moment he received a ball in his chest, so that he fell dead. All the three hundred horsemen shared his fate. When his troops heard of his death they came out to attack Chattarsál, who then retreated. Daler Khán was buried in the village of Maudah,‡ and all the people of Bundelkhand mourned his loss. On every Thursday sweetmeats are offered at his tomb. Every son of a Bundela, on reaching the age of twelve years, is taken by his father and mother to Maudah, where they place his sword and shield on Daler Khán's tomb. They make an offering, and the boy then girds on the sword and takes up the shield, while the parents pray that he may be brave as Daler Khán. Kettle-drums are regularly beaten at the tomb.‡

\* The motto on his seal was "*Az tutf i Muhammad Daler ámaám.*" Hisám-ud-dín says he was uncle to the Ráná of Gohad living in 1753. If this be true, Daler Khán was a Ját, but the accepted story is that in the text.

† Gaz. I, 27. In the Hamírpur District, 20 miles from Hamírpur. The tomb is one mile outside the town (Gaz. I, 545) on the Hamírpur road. The date there given, 1730, seems to be a mistake.

‡ Note C. on Bundelkhand traditions of Daler (or Dalel) Khán.

About the time of Daler Khán's death, that is in 1133 H. (Oct. 1720—Oct. 1721), Muhammad Khán was appointed governor of Allahábád. The authors of the "Lauh" say the *Sanad* for Allahábád used to be with Amin-ud-daula, grandson of Muhammad Khán, and náib from 1786 to 1803, and that Islám Khán Bakhshi had a copy. I know not what has become of these now. The revenue is said to have been eighty-two lakhs of rupees.

In the latter part of 1723, when Muhammad Khán reached Mairtha\* on his way to Court with Abhai Singh, son of Ajít Singh of Márwár,† a *farmán* and an order sealed by the Amír-ul-Umrá (Khán Daurán Khán) were received. These stated that Chattarsál had occupied a large portion of imperial territory, that Burhán-ul-Mulk had been sent in haste against him, and that Muhammad Khán should also hurry to the spot.

In obedience to this order, Muhammad Khán proceeded in the 7th year (Dec. 1724—Dec. 1725), to the Subah of Allahábád, which had been already granted to him with all its *sarkárs*. For years, owing to the resistance of the zamindars, his deputies had been unable to regain effective possession in Bundelkhand. After a two months' stay in Allahábád, an army of fifteen thousand horsemen was collected. With these he proceeded to the banks of the Jamna at Bhognipur.‡ Burhán-ul Mulk had already returned, and had gone back to his Súbah of Audh.

Repeated orders came to make an advance, and several leaders were accordingly sent across the Jamna. Muhammad Khán then crossed the river himself. In the course of six months' fighting, he penetrated as far as parganah Sahendá, south of Bândá. *Farzáns* and orders from Khán Daurán Khán were now received through Ayá Mall, stating that as Mubáriz Khán had been killed, the campaign against the Hindus had been postponed.§ Although the enemy had nearly succumbed, the Nawáb was reluctantly compelled to forego his advantage. The enemy swore by most solemn oaths not to re-enter Muhammad Khán's jágirs, and they retreated three marches from the Muhammadan army. After placing his *Thánas* in the country, Muhammad Khán came away. He then, as already related, was sent on duty to Gwáliyár to repel an expected attack from the Mahrattas. Taking advantage of his absence, the Bundelas, in the most faithless manner, broke their oath and set aside their treaty, and prevented the collection of any revenue.

At this period, Harde Naráyan and the other sons of Chattarsál had overrun the whole of Baghelkhand to the frontiers of Subah 'Azímábád,

\* About forty miles west of Ajmir, in Jodhpúr territory.

† See back, page 283.

‡ In the Cawnpur district, on the road to Kálpi, about six miles from the Jamna.

§ Mubáriz Khán, governor of Haidarábád, was killed in battle with Asaf Jáh in October 1724. Elph. 615.

and approaching Allahábád had raised disturbances in that quarter. In the 9th year (1139—1140 H.) Muhammad Khán received a *farmán* directing him to proceed to his Súbah to restore order, Bundelkhand being a subordinate division of the Allahábád province. An allowance of two lakhs of rupees a month was made, afterwards commuted to a grant of the Chakla of Korá. ✱

As soon as he reached Allahábád, Muhammad Khán began to raise an army. Seventeen rupees was the pay of a trooper and twenty rupees that of a Jamádar. On the 12th Jamáda II, 1139 H. (24th January 1727,) Akbar Khán, the Nawáb's third son, was appointed to lead the van and crossed the Jamna. Muhammad Khán's advance-tents were sent across the river, and he soon followed with fifteen to sixteen thousand horse and the same number of infantry.\*

At this time the Bundelas, with a force estimated at 20,000 horse and more than 100,000 foot, held the whole of Baghelkhand up to Patna, the country of Sankrát, and Mándó (or Mádhon)† as far as Haldi:‡ the only place left was the fort of Bewand, [Bond, Pewand?] which Hardi Sáh and Jagat Ráe had invested with a force of 30,000 horse and 50,000 foot. To meet this powerful confederacy, Muhammad Khán urged the Wazír to aid him with contingents from Udait Singh, Rájah of Orchha, Ráo Rámchand of Datiya, Pirthi, zamindar of Sahendáh, Durjan Singh, zamindar of Chandéri, Rajah Jai Singh of Maudah, Khánde Rám Narwari and Rajah Gopál Singh Bhadaurya. He also wished for the aid of certain faujdárs, Sayyad Najm-ud-din 'Ali Khán, Sábit Khán, Ján Nisár Khán, Buzurg 'Ali Khán, and the Naib Faujdár of Jaunpur. None of these men, except Jai Singh of Maudah, appear to have obeyed the orders issued to them from Delhi.

The first operations were directed to clearing the eastern part of Bundelkhand. The forts of Lúk§, Chaukhandi,|| Garh-Kakareli¶ and Mau\*\* in the Sankrát-Barsinghpur†† country were reduced. They also obtained Ramnagar‡‡ the forts of Katauli,§§ Sahrah, and Kalyánpur,||| with a

\* The crossing took place, I am inclined to think, at Allahábád, or perhaps, at the Mau ferry, some 35 miles above that place.

† Query, 22 miles west of Ríwah.

‡ Query, 10 miles north-east of Ríwah.

§ In Ríwah, east of the Tons. Long. 81°29, Lat. 24°55.

|| Long. 81.29½ Lat. 25.1. About 10 m. S. of Bargarh Railway Station, in the Ríwah state.

¶ Long. 81.17 Lat 24.26, west of the Tons, in the Pannah state.

\*\* Long. 81°9 Lat 25°21 about seven miles S. of the Dabhaurah Railway Station.

†† Long. 81°1 Lat 24°48 about 7 m. east of the Jabalpur Railway.

‡‡ There is one Ramnagar about 2 m. west of Kalinjar.

§§ Long. 81°15 Lat 24°59'.

||| Long. 81°7' Lat. 25°.

hundred *kos* of the country belonging to Mándho\* and Bándah. For a time the enemy hung about the hills near Tarahwán, after which they entered the fort, Chattarsál himself taking refuge in flight. Leaving Káim Khán to invest Tarahwán, Muhammad Khán himself went to within four *kos* of Sahendáh, but the enemy again gave way and fled. The parganahs of Bhind,† Maudah,‡ Pailáni,§ Agwási|| and Simauni,¶ with the ferries, had now been cleared. The campaign up to the first capture of Tarahwán seems to have occupied ten months or a year. ✱

Káim Khán, the Nawáb's eldest son, and another brother, Hádi Dád Khán, were left behind with 12,000 horse and 12,000 foot to besiege Tarahwán. Babu Chattar Singh, son of Rájah Jai Singh of Maudah, was also put under his orders, together with Khán Jahán, Halím Khán, Muhammad Zu'lfikár, Ráe Har Parshád, and two zamindars, Sadú and Har Bans. Sangráam Singh, brother of Anandi Das, had also promised to join with some men he had collected. Káim Khán's instructions were to take the place as quickly as possible, and then rejoin his father with the captured cannon, lead, and powder of Tarahwán, Kalyánpur and Kakrauri. The zamindars were to be conciliated, Tarahwán bringing in fourteen lakhs of rupees.

The fort of Tarahwán, the head-quarters of Pahár Singh, had three mud forts with four masonry citadels, surrounded by an extensive jungle. For many years no Muhammadan governor had attacked it, and for some months it resisted all efforts to reduce it. The garrison was commanded by Sabhá Singh, son of Harde Naráyan and grandson of Chattarsál, aided by Har Bans, zamindar of Bargarh\*\* with a number of Mahrattas, "Barki," (?) and others. On the 9th Jamadi I, 1140 (12th Dec., 1727), after severe fighting, Káim Khán succeeded in entering the outer fort, having beaten in the gates by driving his elephant against them. The Hindus, after a short struggle, were expelled from the second fortress and compelled to take refuge in the third fort. About two thousand of the besieged lost their lives. From the walls of the fourth fort, the defenders threw down burning substances, and the contest was prolonged for some fifteen hours: at three hours before sunrise the survivors sallied forth intending to escape, when three hundred of them were killed, and as many more were drowned in the

\* Mádhogarh, Long. 80°58' Lat. 24°34'.

† Mataundh, to the south-west of Banda, is suggested by Mr. Cadell.

‡ In the East of the Hamirpur district.

§ In the Banda district, the next parganah to Maudah on the east.

|| Augási, in the Banda district, the parganah next to Pailáni on the east. Mr. Cadell tells me that the name is spelt Agwási on a slab in the mosque at Augási built by Sháh Kuli on the site of the Hindu fort.

¶ About 10 miles south-west of Augási.

\*\* Bargarh, a station on the E. I. Railway (?)



river. The fort was then completely occupied. The siege had occupied five or six months. After this victory Káim Khán marched against the fort of Kalyán Singh, eight *kos* from Tarahwán,\* and against Mukkamgarh in the same neighbourhood.†

While Káim Khán was occupied with Tarahwán and the country to the east, Muhammad Khán advanced from Sihondah. Skirmishing went on continuously for one month and twenty-one days. The enemy had strengthened their position by throwing up strong entrenchments, overlooking the bed of the torrent, in addition to the village fort. Tradition hands down Ichauli as the site of the great battle which now took place. This might refer to the Ichauli on the Syáni river, eleven miles west of Bánda, although this village does not seem far enough to the south and west to fit in with the rest of the details; nor is there in the district anything known of a fight there against the Muhammadans. In the *Hadikat-ul-Akálím* the name is spelt *Ajúni* or *Ajúli*, and it is said to be in parganah Mahoba. The date of the battle was the 2nd Shuwwál, 1139, (12th May, 1727).

× At about two hours after sunrise, the first entrenchment, defended by Harde Naráyan and Hindu Singh Chandela with twenty thousand horse and forty thousand foot, was carried by the Muhammadans, who had advanced slowly and in good order. Here Bhúre Khán, Diláwar Khán, Imám Khán, Ghulám Muhammad Khán, 'Abd-ur-rasúl Khán, and Muhammad Zamán Khán, chiefs and leaders, lost their lives, while Akbar Khán, the Nawáb's son, received a graze from a spent ball, and Sayyad Ja'far Husain Khán, Allahyár Khán and Mangal Khán were wounded. The Bundelas now retreated to a second fort occupied by Jagat Ráo, another son of the Rájah, with fifteen thousand horse. Fighting was resumed, and here Ahmad Khán, Irádat Khán, Sirdár Khán and Husain Khán were slain, and Rahmat Khán with other horsemen was severely wounded. At length Harde Naráyan, Jagat Naráyan and Mohan Singh, sons of Chattarsál,‡ and Hindu Singh Chandela fled to a third fort, near a village on a winding torrent surrounded by inaccessible ravines. Here were Chattarsál's own head quarters and a force of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. ×

Muhammad Khán pursued his enemy and renewed the engagement. After several hours, the Bundelas continued their flight to a river with a

\* Kalyánpur Khás is about 17 miles south-east of Tarahwán.

† There is a Mokengarh in the Indian Atlas, 5 miles south of Tarahwán on the Pysuni-nadi.

‡ This name is spelt Sattarsál throughout Sáhíb Ráo's MS., but I have adhered to the more usual form. The author of the *Hadikat-ul-Akálím* tells us both forms were used.



tortuous course, full of whirlpools and having many ravines. Driven out of this position, they took shelter in the ravines about half a *kos* behind their camp. Finding here no place of security, Chattarsál with his sons, their relations and dependents, having mounted on horseback in order to escape notice, made off twelve *kos* into the jungle. All the camp equipage, tents and cannon fell into the hands of the victors. Pursuit was made for a distance of two *kos*; the Muhammadans then halted and encamped. It was soon learnt that the Bundelas had gone off to the vicinity of Sálhat, Dandast, and Thána Paswárah.\* These places are described as full of high hills, deep lakes, torrent beds, ravines, and thorny jungle of great extent. The Bundela leaders had thrown up entrenchments, intending to dispute the passage. Chattarsál himself took up a position at Surajmau some *kos* south of Jaitpur.

† Muhammad Khán estimated his own loss in the above battle at four thousand to five thousand killed and wounded; and that of the enemy at twelve to thirteen thousand. The Muhammadan army was reduced to some fourteen or fifteen thousand horse, and there was a great scarcity of water and fodder. Not a single one of the Rajahs or faujdars had joined him.

The auxiliary forces of the Bundelas, numbering some forty thousand horse and one hundred thousand foot, were made up by the troops of the Rájah of Mándó,‡ of the Gahilwárs of Bijipur,§ of Khánde Ráe Narwari,§ of the zamindars of zila' Málwá, of all Gondwána and Malak Gadh,|| with the Gaurs and the Paribárs of the country round. ‡

The oral tradition of this battle gives a more romantic version of it. It is as follows: One day before the battle,¶ Muhammad Khán distributed ninety thousand rupees among the troops; and the heralds (*naqib*) announced that, the morrow being fixed for the decisive struggle, every man must be ready armed by midnight. On the other side Chattarsál made his preparations. His army consisted of one hundred thousand foot and seventy thousand horse. Several other Rájahs followed his standard.

From the hour of morning prayer the battle began. The contending leaders advanced slowly towards each other on elephants. Skirmishing parties were thrown out from both sides. The *Khalifa* used to say that he had at one time expended all the arrows from his quiver. So many were

\* About 6 miles north-east of Mahoba.

† Mándogarh, 22 miles west of Riwah.

‡ Possibly the Bijipur in Scindiah's territory, 52 miles south-west of Gwáliár. Thornton, 120.

§ Narwar, a town about 40 miles south of Gwáliár.

|| Query. The Garh Kotah 25 miles east of Sagar. Thornton, 324.

¶ The authority for these details is Khalifa Ná'im, son of Káli Miyan Jí, the teacher of the Nawáb's chelas, who told the author of the "Laui-i-Tarikh."

lying about, however, that by holding on to his saddle and stooping over, he plucked up eighteen in one handful. About midday the Nawáb's elephant rushed at and struck that of Mangal Khán Musenagari,\* and ran after it for some little distance. Chattarsál's army thought that Muhammad Khán had taken to flight. With one voice all the Bundelas shouted out that the Bangash had fled. Hearing this outcry, Muhammad Khán turned round with his face to the back of the howdah, calling out as was his custom "*Baháduro, yihí wakt baháduri ká hai.*" He asked the elephant-driver what this fighting meant, it had never occurred before, when the man explained that intending to fight Chattarsál's elephant, he had drugged his own. The elephant was again turned to face the enemy.

† Muhammad Khán, armed to the teeth, was standing up to his full height in his howdah, the sides of which were some three feet high. Suddenly they see bearing down upon them two Bundela horsemen with spears in their hands, and as they come they avoid all encounter. When stopped by any of Muhammad Khán's men, they reply, "We have something to tell your Nawáb." At length they came close to Muhammad Khán's elephant. There they halted, and one of them got out a small bag from his waist-cloth and eat some tobacco. Then grasping his spear firmly in his hand, he shouted out "Bangash, keep a sharp look out, I am at you." He so impelled his horse, that it placed its two forefeet on the trunk of the Nawáb's elephant; he then made a thrust with his spear. The Nawáb avoided the blow, and shot an arrow at the man with such force, that he fell dead from his horse. The horse was killed by the elephant.† The second horseman did as the first, and was killed in the same way. The Nawáb exclaimed to Mangal Khán Musenagari—"How brave must these Bundelas be."

✓ Bhúre Khán, chela, now placed himself at the head of a number of brave Patháns and penetrated the enemy's army, intending to kill Chattarsál. Bhúre Khán lost his own life instead, and the Nawáb's son, Akbar Khán, received a bullet wound. For the loss of Bhúre Khán the Nawáb wept, and for many days after the battle wore orange-coloured clothes in sign of mourning, saying, "What Bhúre said was true, he said he would die before me."

About two hours to sunset the elephants of Nawáb Muhammad Khán and Rájah Chattarsál met face to face. Chattarsál seated under an iron-

\* Musenagar, parganah Bhognipur, Cawnpur district, on the left bank of the Jamna some 13 or 14 miles east of Kálpi.

† The tradition is that the Nawáb's arrows bore a head of several fingers' breadth, a shot from his bow usually killed any one hit. Up to Shaukat Jang's time (1813—1823) there were several of these arrows in the Armoury, and Chaudhri 'Alim-ullah, bearer of the Fish standard, had several of them.

plated canopy was encouraging his troops to the final onset. Nawáb Muhammad Khán aimed at the canopy with a steel javelin (*sáug*) which breaking through struck the elephant. Chattarsál himself swooned. The attendant in the hind seat said to the *mahaut*—"Drive off the elephant; the fight will be renewed to-morrow." Chattarsál's elephant was turned round and it fled for many miles. His troops began to retreat, and Ani Ráo, sister's son to the Rájah, was killed. The Patháns ran hither and thither despatching the flying Bundelas.

At night-fall Chattarsál came to his senses and asked who had won. His courtiers said, "No one has gained the victory, when you became insensible we retreated eight or ten miles, to-morrow morning we will renew the engagement." Chattarsál flew into a passion with his brothers and nephews, and declared that he would never retreat before Muhammad Khán. He wanted to know why they had brought him away, he would either go back or else take his own life. No one listened to his words.

The whole night long Nawáb Muhammad Khán and his men remained in arms upon the field of battle, expecting the return of the Bundelas. Not a single man got leave to go for food or water. Near at hand was a wild plum tree on which there was some unripe fruit. These were gathered one by one, and the Nawáb's *mahaut* driving his elephant up to the tree collected some of the plums, part of which he gave to the Nawáb. \*

On the 29th Shawwál, 1139 H. (8th June, 1727), twenty-seven days after the first battle, the imperial army marched towards the enemy's position. At one watch before sunrise on the 1st Zi'l-ka'd (9th June, 1727), Muhammad Khán mounted and placed himself at the head of his troops. Before, however, they could come to close quarters, and while they were still one *kos* distant, the enemy broke and fled towards Mahoba\* and elsewhere. Those who lingered were slain. The forts of Bárigarh,† the residence of Khán Jahán, the sister's son of Chattarsál, and Lahuri-Jhumar,‡ submitted at once to the parties sent against them. The Muhammadans then encamped one *kos* beyond Mahoba, while the enemy lurked in the hills of Sálhat,§ there being but two *kos* left between the armies. Further progress was delayed by heavy rain, which rendered it impossible in that soil to place one foot before another. \*

At this point there seems to have been a delay of some five months during which the advance was suspended. It was not till the 17th Rabi II, 1140 H. (21st Nov., 1727) that the army got near to Sálhat. That very

\* In the south of the Hamírpur District.

† Ten miles S. E. by E. from Mahoba.

‡ 16 miles S. E. of Mahoba.

§ Mr. Cadell tells me that Sálhat is still a well-known jungle between Mahoba and Jaitpur.

day Harde Sáh arrived to re-inforce Jagat Ráe. The enemy, from the strong and high earth-works which they had thrown up on the hills, kept up a musketry fire and discharge of arrows. This went on the whole day, and nearly one hundred of the enemy were killed and many were wounded. The Muhammadans also lost some men. At sunset the enemy gave way and many were destroyed by the artillery fire. Half of the hill and jungle was gained. Efforts were then directed to cutting down the jungle and making a road.

Another delay of four months appears now to have interposed. The complaint of Muhammad Khán is that the enemy were scattered all over the country like ants or locusts. Without numerous troops nothing could be done, and already all the troops, that could be paid from the two lakhs of rupees a month, had been entertained, while there was a further force under Káim Khán engaged in the siege of Tarahwán.

On the 6th Ramzán, 1140 (5th April, 1728) the army reached its encampment between Sálhat and Kulpahár.\* The attack on the enemy was made on the 20th Ramzán (19th April, 1728). One *kos* beyond Kulpahár there are numerous high hills covered with thorny jungle. Here the enemy had prepared seven entrenched places, with two strong outworks in front. The walls and ditch were carried back on each side to the hill itself. On the summit of the hills were posted some of their best men who, as soon as the Muhammadans appeared, began to fire down upon them. The walls were first breached by artillery fire, when an assault was ordered. The enemy then retreated to the second outwork, where the contest was renewed. Thus, step by step, the hill was gained and all the entrenchments cleared. During the following night, about midnight, Harde Naráyan, Jagat Ráe and Mohan Singh attempted a night surprise, but without result, although three distinct attacks were made.

On the 21st Ramzán (20th April, 1728) Muhammad Khán started for Mundhárit† where there was a fort built of stone on a hill surrounded by thick jungle. Although the defenders fired down on the scaling party, the fort was taken. There the army encamped and prepared for a further advance. The enemy's leaders then brought their infantry into the wood, which stretches far and wide for many *kos*. From the shelter of the trees they began to discharge their arrows and kept up a severe fire of musketry. Their skirmishers were soon expelled by the Muhammadans, headed by Akbar Khán, the Nawáb's son. Muhammad Khán also advanced in person to his support. Many heads of the fallen foe were cut off and brought in, with many stray horses which, together with a number of loaded baggage-camels, became the booty of the army.

\* About 6 miles N. E. of Jaitpur.

† This I take to be Moorhari of the maps, 4 miles E. of Jaitpur.

The Muhammadans now fixed their camp in front of Kulpahár, with Jaitpur on their right, Mundhári slightly on one side in the same direction, and the hills of Sálhat, occupied by the enemy, on their left. Daily skirmishes occurred whenever the troops were out clearing away the jungle.

The enemy now gathered themselves together in the hills of Ajhnar,\* which is three *kos* beyond Jaitpur, and Surajmau, which is the same distance from that place. The Muhammadan camp was moved into the hills beyond Jaitpur, while active preparations were made for the siege of Jaitpur itself. It had taken twenty months to drive the Bundelas as far west as Ajhnar. These twenty months, if we count from the 12th Jamádi II, 1139, (24th January, 1727), the date of crossing the Jamna, would end in Safar, 1140 (August, 1728).

During the rainy season (July to October, 1728), the siege progressed but slowly. Owing to the excessive moisture the mines fell in as soon as dug. The fort was protected on one side by a lake of great depth, one *kos* wide and several *kos* long, it was placed on a hill, and the enemy had mounted it with cannon and "rahkla." It was not till four months or so afterwards that the place fell. By the time it had been taken, the campaign had lasted over twenty-four months (Jamadi II, 1139, to Jamadi I, 1141 = January 1727 to December 1728).

At this period Muhammad Khán saw reason to complain bitterly of the way he was treated at Court. He says he had performed the work of seven or eight men, that he was fighting night and day; yet no honours were granted for his sons or relations, nor pensions to the dependents of those who had fallen. Instead of reward, their jágirs were resumed. The parganah of Sháhpur,† he was now told, had been granted for one harvest only, although it had been given in exchange for a gift of two krons of "dám." In the affair of Ajít Singh of Márwár, lakhs had been given away, while all that Muhammad Khán had asked was the restoration of one parganah.

For the preceding six months the enemy had caused confusion in parts of parganah Panwári.‡ Darak Singh, an ally of Chattarsál's, now took up a position with two thousand horse and five thousand foot in the strong fort of Sahandi§ on the banks of a river extremely difficult to cross. Orders were given to Muhammad Bishárat Multáni, who commanded in Ráth,|| to coerce Darak Singh and take his fort. This man showed little zeal or energy, for he camped a long time in zila' Auli¶ on pretence of conciliat-

\* Six miles S. of Jaitpur.

† Now in the Cawnpur District.

‡ The parganah N. W. of Jaitpur, in the Hamírpur District.

§ Mr. Cadell suggests Seonri, on the Dassan, 6 miles N. W. of Panwári.

|| About 12 miles N. of Panwári town.

¶ Query. Oráí in the Jalaun District, the "l" being interchangeable with "r" at times.

ing his troops. He then lingered in Jakálpur,\* and it was only on getting sharp orders to make over Auli to Ráo Rám Chand,† that he advanced and cleared the parganah of Ráth.

Sardár Khán was also sent with Kunwár Pancham Singh, to force Ráo Rám Chand's army to retire from the investment of the forts and thánas in the country of Rájah Pirthi Singh.‡ With the assistance of the Bhadauriya forces, these orders were executed.§ ✕

We have already seen that Tarahwán fell first before Káim Khán in Jamadi I, 1140, (December 1727). He then cleared the plain country and the hills in the east of Bundelkhand; and, leaving Sayyad 'Arif Ali Khán in charge, aided by Sadu a zamindár, he rejoined his father. Hardly had he done so, when word came that at the instigation of the sons and grandsons of Chattarsál, the zamindár of Bargarh|| and Hindu Singh, with a force of five thousand horse and ten thousand foot, had broken into revolt. Káim Khán was at once sent back with five thousand horse and five thousand foot. When he came within twelve kos of Tarahwán, his spies informed him that the enemy had already regained the first outwork of the fort.

On the 1st Rabi I, of the 10th year=1141 H. (24th Sep., 1728), while Muhammad Khán was following up the Bundelas in the hills of Ajhnar and was besieging Jaitpur, his son Káim Khán commenced his attack, for the second time, on Tarahwán. On this occasion the outer fort only was taken. It was not till more than a month afterwards, on the 9th Rabi II, of the 11th year=1141 H. (1st November, 1728), that the final assault was given. A mine had been driven under one of the bastions and filled with gunpowder. The moment the explosion occurred the assault took place. About six hundred of the assailants were slain and a still larger number of the besieged. The rest gave way and fled towards Tarhat¶ pursued by the Muhammadans who, after the victory, occupied the fortress of Tarahwán.

Káim Khán followed up this success and, after five or six defeats in the field, so closely pressed his opponent at Bargarh that he was glad to submit. These operations must have occupied some months, for although ordered to rejoin his father at once, Káim Khán was still absent when the Mahrattas suddenly appeared on the 12th March, 1729, to turn Muhammad Khán's course of victory into defeat.

✦ While Jaitpur was invested, Muhammad Khán moved onwards into the hills, and kept up constant skirmishes against the enemy under Chattar-

\* Hamírpur District about 24 miles N. E. of Ráth.

† Rájah of Datiya?

‡ Of Sahendah?

§ The Bhadauriya family history will be noticed hereafter.

|| About 34 miles east of Tarahwán, near the Jahalpur line.

¶ Barhat?



sál, Harde Naráyan and Jagat Ráe. At length Harde Sáb, Jagat Ráe, Mohan Singh, Lachman Singh, and other sons and grandsons came in with their families; and after a time, Chattarsál himself with ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot drew near, bringing his Ráni and grandchildren. For three or four months (December 1728 to January and February 1729,) the Bundelas waited quietly in camp, expecting an answer to Muhammad Khán's report to the Emperor, in which he craved leave to bring his prisoners to Court.

Although no answer came negotiations went on. Diwán Harde Sáb\* was more especially friendly with Mubammad Khán, they frequently made excursions and hunting expeditions together, and talked of setting out together on a "mulkgeri." The only difficulty was a want of carriage, and Káim Khán was requested to send Yákút Khán with money for expenses, and carriage for fifteen hundred horsemen. Those men with Káim Khán who had relations with the main army, were to procure and send carriage for them.

For a long time no settlement with the Bundelas could be come to. When Muhammad Khán asked for the delivery of his jágirs, which they had long occupied, they replied that besides the troops with them they possessed nothing. At length they agreed to submit to the Imperial authority, and bound themselves by all the oaths most sacred to Hindus never to rebel again, but to deliver up all the places they occupied, and to permit Imperial thánas or armed posts to be placed throughout their country.

From Delhi no answer was vouchsafed, and three months passed by. The Bundelas made use of this interval to send messengers with overtures to Burhán-ul-mulk, who received them favourably. Letters came privately from Court inciting Chattarsál to resist and recommence hostilities. The Bundelas had by this time learnt that Muhammad Khán had powerful influences against him at Court, and were thus encouraged to renew the struggle.

When three months had thus passed by, the time of the Holi festival approached. Chattarsál was brought by his sons in a palki to Muhammad Khán. They represented that from age, weakness, and confinement their father was extremely ill. If he died in camp, it would be said that he had been made away with. On these pretexts leave was obtained to remove the old Rájah to Surajnau, three *kos* beyond the Muhammadan camp, which was then in the hills some distance south of Jaitpur. Jagat Ráe and his brothers were also allowed leave to celebrate the Holi festival (February—March 1729).

As there had been every prospect of a speedy end to the campaign, Muhammad Khán's allies had returned to their homes, many of his soldiers had proceeded on leave, or had returned to Allahábád, and others were scat-

\* "Diwán" seems to have been the title of the eldest son.



tered about in small parties at the *Thánas* he had established. In all, about four thousand horsemen were left with his standards. Rumours now began to spread that the Mahrattas, who had just defeated and slain the Názim of Málwa (Girdhar Bahádur), had been sent for; but relying on the solemn covenant which had been entered into, Muhammad Khán treated all that he heard as popular falsehoods. He collected no supplies nor any stores of grain.

It was not till the Mahrattas were within eleven *kos* of his camp, that Muhammad Khán became assured of their approach. By great exertions, he increased his force to about nine thousand or ten thousand horse and the same number of foot. He proceeded to throw up an entrenchment round his camp. Diwán Harde Sáhe, the eldest son and heir of Chhattarsál, remained so far faithful to his engagements as to take no active part in the attack; but all the others went over to the Mahrattas. The only other ally was Rájah Jai Singh of Maudah, but he seems to have been a half-hearted one, for he insisted on discharging most of the one thousand men he commanded, and retained with him no more than one hundred horse and one hundred foot. Kunwár Lachman Singh, brother of the Rájah of Orchha, attended for a time with four or five hundred men, but soon withdrew on some excuse. There were great difficulties caused by the want of money, the revenue of Chakla Korá not being received. Gunpowder and other requisites were also needed, and the Emperor was asked to send one thousand *mans* of lead, one thousand *mans* of gunpowder, two large cannons, and fifty "*rahkla*."

The Mahratta army was commanded by Báji Ráo, the *diwán* of Rájah Sáhu, Pilá Jádón and others, twelve leaders in all. No account could be got of the force they had when they started, but on the way they had been joined by all turbulent spirits among the zamindárs, who came in the hope of plundering and laying waste the imperial territory. The total force had thus swelled to nearly seventy thousand men besides an equal number of Bundelas.

On Wednesday the 22nd Sha'bán of the 11th year (1141 H. = 12th March 1729), the Mahrattas sent out a party to the hills of Ajhnar, who came within one *kos* of Muhammad Khán's encampment and reconnoitered the position. They fell on the grazing cattle of the camp followers, but were soon driven away by the Muhammadans, who brought in three heads and some horses.

The next day, before sunrise, the Mahrattas advanced by the right and left to the rear of the camp, where they cut off the camels and other beasts of burden when going out for grass. Troops were sent out to recover the camels and the fighting went on till midday. The same tactics were repeated on the 24th (14th March, 1729), and the enemy were again repelled, twenty heads being brought in.

On the 25th Sha'bán (15th March, 1729), Muhammad Khán made a sortie and all day the enemy hid themselves in the hills. Near sunset they suddenly rushed out, but were driven back with a loss of five men and four horses. After the first watch of the night, when it was very dark, the contest began again on the right wing and "the fire was like the fall of leaves from trees." Four of the enemy were killed and some horses and camels captured. It was now reported that Báji Ráo had sent for his brother, who was then on a plundering expedition towards Kotah and Búndí.

Gradually the Mahrattas succeeded in closing round the camp, and placed outposts to the rear where they kept up the most vigilant outlook. In all directions the roads were closed, prices rose very high, *mahrwah* or *mandwa*, a small inferior grain, cost twenty rupees the seer, and other grain could not be procured. All, great and small, endured the greatest privations for two months (15th March to 15th May, 1729,) sustaining life on the flesh of camels, horses, and cows. Nor were they left in peace by night or day; they were in action often five and six times a day. Each day the enemy "like the multitude of the stars before the rising sun, fled "into the rocks and hollows of the hills." But Muhammad Khán had not men enough to leave part to guard his tents, and with the rest to advance and set up batteries against the enemy's place of refuge, nor to pursue them when they retreated.

The Mahrattas, hearing that Káim Khán, the Nawáb's son, had reached Supá,\* six *kos* the other side of Jaitpur, with supplies and re-inforcements, moved off to oppose him. Muhammad Khán's soldiers, distressed by the high prices and want of pay, seized the opportunity and suddenly set off on the road to Jaitpur. With the Nawáb there were not left more than one thousand horsemen. The Bundelas soon hearing of the retreat of the soldiers issued from the hills of Ajhnar. Muhammad Khán mounted and rode out to meet them leaving not a single man behind in camp. From evening till one hour and a half after sunset fighting went on with spears, swords, arrows and muskets, but at last the enemy returned to the hills of Ajhnar. Muhammad Khán maintained his position for three hours longer, while his chief men went off to Jaitpur to collect the fugitives.

Before the arrival of the leaders at Jaitpur, the men had continued their flight and were already scattered in all directions. His companions now counselled Muhammad Khán to commence a retreat. Up to this point he had stood fast, resolved to maintain his name and fame as a soldier, but now that honour was satisfied, he was persuaded to move, in the hope of recalling the fugitive troops. Muhammad Khán had "tried to seek escape "by death, but since, of the life lent to him, some part was yet unspent, he

\* About 8 miles N. W. of Mahoba, and 14 miles N. E. of Jaitpur.

"fought on till at midnight not another infidel was to be seen either to the left or to the right, but still death did not come to him."

On reaching Jaitpur he began at once to strengthen the fortifications. But there were no stores of food and no time to send for supplies. The Mahrattas having defeated Káim Khán soon returned, and completely invested the town and fort of Jaitpur, into which Muhammad Khán had withdrawn with his men and had closed the gates. A cannonade from both sides began and Akbar Khán, the Nawáb's son, who was renowned for his strength, threw down heavy stones from the fort wall and killed many of the Mahrattas. When the besiegers found they could not take the place by assault, they decided to starve out the garrison. Jaitpur was strictly invested for several months till there was no longer any grain for food. Then the soldiers began to slaughter their horses and bullocks. Flour could not be procured even at one hundred rupees the seer. Some of the Mahrattas used to come at night with supplies of flour, half of which was made up of ground bones. Those inside let down their money by a rope, flour was attached in its place at the rate of a seer for every hundred rupees, and the rope was then drawn up.\* Many of the soldiers died of starvation, and many more leaving the Nawáb to his fate escaped from the fort. Báji Ráo's orders to his guards were that any of Muhammad Khán's men who gave up their arms should be allowed to pass unmolested. Many having no food preferred to give up their arms and get away. Only some thousand or twelve hundred remained with the Nawáb.

When the Mahrattas had fallen thus unexpectedly on his father, Káim Khán was still away at Tarahwán. He obeyed at once the summons to him. He got as far as Supá, a few miles from Jaitpur, when the Mahrattas met him. As he had barely more than a thousand men with him, he was soon defeated, many of his men killed and the supplies under his convoy scattered. All hope of immediate relief was thus dispelled. It only remained to Muhammad Khán to call upon the Emperor and the great nobles and Rájahs for aid to extricate himself from his trying position. These efforts were unavailing. Although the most urgent appeals were sent in all directions, not a hand was raised to help or encourage him.

In this extremity Nawáb Muhammad Khán wrote to his son, Káim Khán telling him to go to Sa'dat Khán Burhán-ul Mulk Bahádur Jang, and 'Abd-ul Mansúr Khán to demand aid. His orders were to head the relieving force in person, in order to extricate his father from the toils of the Mahrattas. Káim Khán went to Sa'dat Khán and 'Abd-ul-Mansúr Khán at Faizábád. 'Abd-ul-Mansúr Khán had married Sa'dat Khán's daughter, and he was also his sister's son. These two nobles decided that they would send no troops

\* These details are confirmed by the author of the *Hadikat-ul-Akálín*, who got them, he says, from a book written by a man who was present throughout.

with Káim Khán, but kept him for several days in suspense. One day a Risáldár (commander of cavalry) in Sa'dat Khán's army, himself an Afrídí, commanding twelve hundred men, said to Káim Khán, "You will neither get troops here, nor will you be allowed to go yourself, you must devise some other plan."

The Bibí Sáhíba, mother of Káim Khán, hearing reports of intended treachery, sent Necnám Khán, chela, to Faizábád. Reaching that place he went to the Risáldár already mentioned and convinced him and his Patháns, who were of Mau, Farrukhábád, Sháhjahánpur and Ánwala, that rather than allow Muhammad Khán to be captured, it would be to their interest to march to his relief. Necnám Khán told them to assemble whenever the camel kettle-drums should begin to beat in his camp. The same day Káim Khán and Necnám Khán visited 'Abd-ul Mansúr Khán, and asked leave to depart. 'Abd-ul Mansúr Khán proposed their waiting for the troops he had sent for, who would arrive in a few days. Necnám Khán then forced Káim Khán to rise, and pointing to Sa'dat Khán, said to Káim Khán, "You will never deliver Muhammad Khán by their means." He then in a great rage lead Káim Khán by the hand out of the audience hall. With them were sixty Patháns clad in chain mail, whose orders were to strike at once, if any one lifted a finger to touch them. Reaching camp the kettle-drums were beaten for the march. On hearing the sound, twelve hundred Patháns in 'Abd-ul Mansúr Khán's service left him to follow Káim Khán. When word was brought to him, Sa'dat Khán sent off a camel rider to recall Káim Khán. Regardless of the Nawáb's message he continued his route to Sháhjahánpur. There more men joined his standard. Thence he moved to Bangarh,\* the abode of 'Ali Muhammad Khán Rohéla, from whom they obtained further re-inforcements. Then coming to Mau, numbers of recruits flocked to enter their service. The army thus gathered together numbered some thirty thousand men: as each man was promised one hundred rupees a month, the expenses were enormous. It was only by delivering over to them all the Nawáb's goods and chattels, together with all the cash he could obtain from the money-lenders, that Káim Khán induced them to enlist.

An advance was now made, and crossing the Jamna they passed into Bundelkhand. The Bundelas, hearing that Káim Khán was approaching with a strong force, hastened to make terms with Nawáb Muhammad Khán. They took a written agreement from him never to attack them again, and to be content with the tribute which had been formerly paid. Muhammad Khán at this time did not know that Káim Khán was marching to his relief. He had come several marches from Jaitpur when he met his son. Káim Khán proposed they should return to renew the war, but Mu-

\* In the Budáon District about 10 miles N. of Budáon.

hammad Khán declined to break his pledge. Káim Khán's noble conduct at this trying juncture extorts words of praise from a most unfriendly critic, the author of the "*Siyar-ul-Mutákharin*".\*

† The siege of Jaitpur had lasted three months and ten days, from the middle of May to the end of August, 1729, (Shawwál 1141 to Safar 1142); and with it ended Muhammad Khán's connection with that part of the country. For the rest of his life he continued to press on the Emperor and his unwilling wazír his losses and his claims. But he never again exercised any authority in, or obtained any revenue from the jágirs still nominally his within the limits of Bundelkhand. Once only while in Málwá did he write to his quandom ally, Harde Sáh, reminding him of an agreement made at Kharela† to give up the government cannon, and to refrain from interference with the jágir mahals. There was also an unfulfilled promise that Jagat Ráj's agents would pay eight lakhs for Sahendáh. Muhammad Khán reminds Harde Sáh that the jágirs were [worth fifty or sixty lakhs a year, that never for one moment would he forget his claims, the matter was one of opportunity, and with God's help he would still enforce his rights. If Harde Sáh, who said he was a friend, allowed the jágirs to be "eaten" by others, he would become himself responsible. In the same letter, he expresses his satisfaction that Harde Sáh had taken the parganahs of Auli,‡ Kanár,§ Rámpúr,|| Kúneh¶ and others from Lachman Singh. The same course he hoped would be pursued in respect of Kálpi,\*\* Jalálpur,†† Sahendáh,‡‡ and Maudah.§§ All these orders were no more than idle threats which were never to be enforced. ✕

Muhammad Khán was now directed to proceed to court with no more than five hundred men, leaving Káim Khán in charge of the rest of his

\* p. 465, line 4.—Grant Duff (p. 227), makes the Jaitpur affair follow the appointment to Málwá, but there can be little doubt from the local histories, confirmed by the "*Siyar-ul-Mutákharin*" and the "*Tárikh-i-Muzaffari*", that Muhammad Khán received the Málwá appointment *after* he had been unsuccessful in Bundelkhand and had escaped from Jaitpur. I also doubt the correctness of the date 1732 in the *Gaz. N. W. P. I*, 27. On p. 29, the year 1738 is given, which must be wrong: on p. 426, the date is 1731. On p. 545, Dalel Khán's death is given as having taken place in 1730 instead of 1720.

† In the Hamírpur District, Parganah Jalálpur, about 34 miles S. of Hamírpur.

‡ Query. Oráí, in the Jalaun District.

§ In the Jalaun District. See *Gaz. I*. 191. Now in Parganah Madhugarh.

|| Query. In Parganah Madhugarh, Jalaun District.

¶ In the Jalaun District.

\*\* On the Jamna in the Jalaun District.

†† In the Hamírpur District.

‡‡ This is I fancy some place in the Hamírpur District and not the parganah of this name in Bánda.

§§ Hamírpur District.



army. He replied that he had got as far as Jalálpur on his way home, but was forced to stop owing to the disturbances raised by the troops, to whom more than one *kror* of rupees was due. Before, while the fighting was going on, no other thought could find place, night and day they were occupied with plans of resistance. But from the day of arrival at Kharela\* and Moth and the junction with Káim Khán, they had resorted to every kind of violence in demanding their pay, and in requiring food for the time being. Their demands were made morning, noon and night, so that the Nawáb could neither eat nor sleep. He was driven to his wit's end, and death was better than such a life. He begged, therefore, that to content them, a portion of those two lakhs a month might be paid, which had been promised to him before he crossed the Jamná; or that to silence them a deed for Allahábád might be granted, with assignment (*tankhwáh*) on the maháls recovered from the enemy in Bundelkhand, and a *sanad* for the Sarkár of Ghorá† in the name of Káim Khán, from the year of the campaign against Sayyad 'Abdullah Khán (1721), when a petition, with order granting this Sarkár, was despatched to Daler Khán. He also demanded a *sanad* in favour of another son, Akbar Khán, for the *faujddari* of Parganah Irichh.

We next find the Nawáb reporting that the whole of the men had crossed the Betwah, they would speedily reach Kálpi, and commence to cross the Jamná, there being sixteen boats, large and small. Again Muhammad Khán reiterates his complaints. He accuses the courtiers of making him out a traitor and a rebel. Notwithstanding all the services he had done, the two lakhs a month had not been paid. Káim Khán had recently raised a great army; His Majesty could not have reflected where the money was to come from. Did he think Káim Khán knew alchemy, or could unearth hidden treasure? Had any one else raised an army at such a juncture, he would have been bountifully rewarded. Now the Nawáb's companions-in-arms received word that their *tankhwáhs*, granted in the Emperor Farrukhsiyar's time, had been resumed. This was most unjust.

If the Emperor should deign to redouble his ancient favours, then Muhammad Khán could continue his service. If not, he would draw on the garment of resignation and withdraw from public life, or if desired would proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He himself was much cast down, but what he writes is for the satisfaction of his troops, to whom all his letters were shown. Although their pay was so greatly in arrears they would not, out of respect to his fellow clanship, prevent his journey to court. He felt much annoyed at the report spread that he did not intend to present himself, and he invoked the wrath of God on the men who made such unfounded statements.

\* Parganah Jalálpur, Hamírpur District.

† See article *Ghorá* in Elliot's Supp. Glossary, p. 391.

Again, in acknowledging a fresh order to attend court, Muhammad Khán goes over the above points once more. The Jamna was crossed on the return march apparently on the 11th Rabi' I. 1142, (23rd Sept., 1729). The river was in flood but the men were to cross on boats. His chief leaders were unprovided with horses, having just come out of a long campaign, and the strings of horses for sale not having yet arrived, they had not been able to mount themselves. On his arrival at court Muhammad Khán hoped that Roshan-ud-daula\* would become security for him, and procure for him *sanads* in Káim Khán's favour for the zamindari and *faujdarí* of Sarkar Ghorá. Pir 'Ali Khán, his agent at court, still held the order by which His Majesty had before granted them to Daler Khán. Nor had any reply to his request for the *faujdarí* of Irichh been forwarded.

Muhammad Khán seems at length to have reached Court. The next eleven months (Oct. 1729—Sept. 1730), we can presume were spent in urgent repetition of the oft-told story of his wrongs. The *Siyar-ul Mutákharrín* states† that his removal from the Allahábád Subah was caused by his failure in Bundelkhand. This does not seem quite correct for, if the *Tabṣírat-un-Názirín* is to be trusted, the appointment to Allahábád was not conferred on Sarbuland Khán, Mubáriz-ul Mulk, till 1144 H. (July 1731—June 1732). Before this Muhammad Khán had been restored to favour, and his *sanad* for the Nizámat of Málwá is dated the 17th Rabi I. of the 12th year (1143 H. = 19th Sept. 1730). The removal from Allahábád in 1144 H. is, therefore, more probably to be attributed to some ill-feeling raised by Muhammad Khán's dealings in Málwá, where he was then present.

A characteristic anecdote, relating to this period, is told in the *Sharáif-i-Usmání*.‡ When Muhammad Khán reached Kanauj on his return from Bundelkhand, Rúh-ul-Amín Khán Bilgrámi, one of the leaders who had enlisted under Káim Khán's standard, introduced to the Nawáb the *kázi* of Bilgrám, Muhammad Ahsán, whose *jágirs* had recently been resumed by Burhán-ul-Mulk. The Nawáb promised to use his good offices with the Emperor; and the *kázi* followed him to Delhi. The empire was then in all its glory, and the saying was quite true that the Emperor of Hindustán lived like a God upon earth.

On his arrival at Delhi, Muhammad Khán at his first audience demanded the Subah of Allahábád; but the Emperor made the excuse that to give it then was not convenient. Immediately on hearing this answer, Nawáb Muhammad Khán stretching forth his hand took two-folded *pán* leaves

\* Bakhshi-ul Mamálik, Roshan-ud-Daula, Zafar Khán Bahádur, Rustam Jang.

† p. 465.

‡ The *Sharáif-i-Usmání* was written in 1188 H. by Ghulám Hasan, Sadíki, ul-Farshúri, Bilgrámi, poetically styled *Samín*.



from the Emperor's own *pándán*, and sat down on the spot where he had hitherto stood. Samsám-ud-daula Khán Daurán Khán turned to him anxiously, and exclaimed, "Nawáb Ghazanfar Jang ! what does this mean ?" Muhammad Khán replied, "While I was a servant I stood, from this day I leave the Emperor's service, why then should I stand any longer ?" The Emperor tried to pacify him, but all efforts were unavailing, and the same day he gave orders to pay off his troops. A quarrel then occurred between the Nawáb and Rúh-ul-Amin Khán about a balance of one lakh of rupees due by the latter, which he refused to refund. The *kízi* thus lost his protector, and the Nawáb departed for Farrukhábád.

\* From a passage in the *Inshá-i-Yár Muhammad*,\* it would seem that at this period Akbar Khán, the Nawáb's son, acted as his deputy at Allahábád. In the course of a long account of the principal events of his life, Yár Muhammad speaks of leaving Bhagwant Ráe and coming with Naval Singh to attack some fort. Having failed in their object, they went to Allahábád. Naval Singh entered Akbar Khán's service, while Yár Muhammad, dismissing his followers, took refuge with a holy man named Khúbullah. Akbar Khán sent a mace-bearer for him, but he refused to go, as on that day he had lost a child nine months old. A disturbance took place, and Akbar Khán attempted to use force. The Patháns refused, however, to attack the house of a holy man. The reason of Akbar Khán's interfering seems to have been, that Sa'dat Khán Burhán-ul Mulk had sent a request for Yár Muhammad's arrest as a deserter. Akbar Khán did not succeed in arresting him, and a week after a *sanad* came from Sarbuland Khán, the new Subahdár, appointing Roshan Khán Turáhi to be his deputy.

### *The Campaign in Málwá.*

On reaching Delhi in the latter part of 1729, Muhammad Khán seems to have entered into prolonged negotiations. He could not succeed, however, in retaining Allahábád, which was an easily held country (*be-khár*), but had to content himself with appointment to the Subah of Málwá, which had been ravaged by the Mahrattas, and was liable at any moment to be re-invaded. The *sanad* for Málwá is dated the 17th Rabi I. of the 12th year (1143 H. = 19th Sept. 1730), and is "*ba-mashrút, ba dastúr-i-ma'múl, hasb-ul-zimman*."

Roshan-ud-daula it was, through whom the appointment was obtained,† and one lakh of rupees of the money advanced from the treasury was left in his hands. Of this sum two thousand rupees were paid as a *douceur* to the employés of the elephant stables, to facilitate the delivery of four elephants. The balance appears to have been appropriated by Roshan-

\* p. 168, Calcutta, 1246 H.—1830-1.

† See as to his influence and his cupidity, Seir-Mutaqharin I, 264, 274. He died 14th Zi'l-haj 1148 H., do. p. 294.

ud-daula. A lakh of rupees was also promised to Kokah Jíú\* in order to obtain a quick settlement of the claims for jágirs. The money to be advanced from the Treasury was at first fixed at sixty, and then fifty lakhs. Gradually the grant was reduced to a most insignificant amount, although Rájah Jai Singh Siwáe had received thirty-two lakhs for a two months' campaign.

When Muhammad Khán left Delhi, it was agreed by Amír-ul Umrá Khán Daurán Khán and Roshan-ud-daula that, on his arrival at Mathura or Akbarábád, the grants for his friends' jágirs and a *sanad* for the faujdári of Gwáliár should be delivered to him. He had reached Gwáliár, however, without these grants having been received, and Mangal Khán was still delayed at Court by the non-fulfilment of these promises. Mangal Khán's jágir of parganahs Mauránwah,† Sarsendi,‡ and Rahli,§ and the assignment on Ním Khár,|| had long been in the occupation of Burhán-ul Mulk. A settlement of this claim was urged, in order that the jágirdár might provide his equipment.

The other jágirs asked for were as follows: ten lakhs of *dám* for Mangal Khán from Hísar¶ his native country; thirty lakhs of *dám* for 'Abd-un Nabi Khán from parganah Aunth\*\* which was held by his father entirely in jágir; ten lakhs of *dám* for Shekh Beeche on parganahs Shergarh†† and Thána,‡‡ the jágirs of his family; five lakhs of *dám* for Sayyad Sharif 'Alí Khán on Kanaúj§§ his native country; fifteen lakhs of *dám* for Sayyad Ja'far Husain Khán on Sháhpúr;||| ten lakhs of *dám* for Kále Khán and Shuj'at Khán from Budáon;¶¶ five lakhs of *dám* for Diláwar 'Alí Khán Aurangábádi on Karnál,\*\*\* the parganah having been held by his ancestors in jágir; five lakhs of *dám* for Mustafa Khán from Mustafábád†††; five lakhs of *dám* from Jhúsi‡‡‡ and five lakhs from Cháil§§§.

\* A favourite mistress of Muhammad Shah's, who was intrusted with his private signet. Seir Mutaqharin I, 264.

† Unao district, about 30 miles S. of Lakhnau.

‡ In the Lakhnau district, written generally Sasendi—it lies 16 miles S. of Lakhnau.

§ I fancy this is in the Faizábád district—see Elliot's Supp. Glossary, p. 337.

|| In the Sitápur district, 18 miles S. W. of Sitápur.

¶ West of Delhi.

\*\* I have not traced this parganah.

†† This might be the Shergarh in the Mathura district.

‡‡ Possibly this is the Thána Farída in the Aligarh district.

§§ In the present district of Farrukhabád.

||| In the Cawnpur district.

¶¶ In Rohilkhand.

\*\*\* North of Delhi and west of the Jamna.

††† In the Mainpuri district.

‡‡‡ In the Allahábád district.

§§§ In the Allahábád district.

for *Sadakat Khán*; and five lakhs of *dám* for *Haider 'Ali Khán* from *parganah Akarábád*.\* The Nawáb's agent was instructed not to take *siáhas* (collection accounts) for these allowances unless they were without the condition "*páe-bakí*."

On the 5th *Jamadi I.* of the 13th year (1143 H. = 5th November, 1730), *Muhammad Khán* writes from *Agra* that, of the sixty cannon ordered to be delivered from the fort, the commander (*kila'dár*) had made over no more than twenty-nine. Although there were two thousand cannon in store, they offered guns, broken and useless, carrying only a shot of two or three *pyce* (*falús*) weight and without *pallah*. The Nawáb says he might as well take *jazáil* (swivel-guns) at once. Such as they were, they had neither carriages nor bullocks, and *Muhammad Khán* was fain to take them as they were. His agent was told to get an order at once from the *Mír Atash* to deliver guns carrying shot of from one seer to three seers weight. With whatever artillery could be procured he intended to start.

As the large cannon given by the Emperor and brought from *Delhi* was defective at the breach, and the other formerly with *Nijábat 'Ali Khán* had been sent back to Court, a request was made for a large cannon carrying a ball of fourteen to fifteen seers, with two others somewhat smaller. These could be delivered from the forts of *Akbarábád* or *Gwáliár*, where there were large guns in store.

At *Akbarábád* some three to four hundred troopers presented themselves daily to have their horses branded. On entertainment half a month's pay and a little more for necessaries was advanced to each man. A force of 8,200 horse and 2,500 foot was collected. It was made up as follows: There were 500 horse and 1000 foot under *Muqím Khán*, 400 horse and 700 foot under *Dáud Khán*, 600 horse and 600 foot under *Sa'adat Khán*, and 200 foot under *Bakhtáwar Khán*; *Allahyár Khán* and others, *Dilázaks* of *Dholpúr Bári*, had brought more than 2000 horse. There were 500 horse under *Sháistah Khán*, *Misri Khán*, *Khudádád Khán*, *Muhammad Khán* and others, seven leaders from *Firúzábád* and *Shikohábád*. *Fath Khán Yusufzai*, *Ghairat Khán* and others came with about 200 horse: and the same number was sent by *Ráe Har Parshád*, 'Amil of *Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe*, under their *Chaube* leaders from *Mathura*. Besides the above there were some 2000 horse in small parties from *Mau*, *Sháhjahánpur*, *Sháhábád* and *Katahr* generally. All these were in addition to the men brought from *Shahjahánábád*. Nawáb *Roshan-ud-daula* had also promised to aid with a corps of 500 horse and 1000 foot of *Rúmí*s, *Arabs*, and *Habshis* in his pay.

'Umr Khán,† Daler Khán,‡ and Yár Muhammad Khán, son of *Dost*

\* In the *Aligarh* district.

† Faujdar of *Mándú* near the *Narbada*.

‡ Apparently of *Korwáe* near *Sironj*. Dowson's *Elliot*, VIII, 58.

Muhammad Khán,\* and the other chief soldiers of Ujain, Narwar and Sironj, reported that they had ready more than twenty thousand men. They were ordered to join with them at Narwar† and Kálábágh.‡ If they had been sent for to Gwáliár, two months advances would have been asked for, and the whole of the grant from the Imperial Treasury exhausted before leaving Gwáliár. Muhammad Khán endeavoured to make the money last as far as Ujain, that is for the succeeding two months.

At length on the 6th Jamadi I. 1143 H (6th November, 1730), the army was set in motion, and leaving Akbarábád it encamped at Jájau on the Bán or Utangan river, nineteen miles south of that city. The next morning, the 7th (7th Nov. 1730), a march was made and the army stopped at a short distance from Dholpúr. Muḳim Khán, Dáud Khán and Sa'dat Khán with the artillery crossed at once. On the 8th, the crossing of the Chambal had not been effected by the rest of the army, the river not being then fordable, while the boats were few and small. On the 9th, Muhammad Khán crossed and the camp followed. Thence with one night between they reached Gwáliár.

From Gwáliár Muhammad Khán reiterated his request for the faujdári of that place. Without such a hold over them no hearty aid could be hoped for from the Rájahs and others ordered to serve under him. It was promised to him before he left Delhi, but having got rid of him from Court, the ministers paid no heed to his remonstrances. Chattar Singh of Shiupuri§ and Kaláras|| learning that the *sanad* for Gwáliár had not arrived, collected men and began fighting Khánde Rám whom he had ejected from the fort of Bajaur.¶ The mercenaries had thus found service near their homes and went to join the combatants. If once these Rájahs and the mercenaries knew that Muhammad Khán had been made faujdár of Gwáliár, they would no longer seek service except under the government of their country.

Rájah Udait Singh of Orchha, his son Kunwar Bahádur, Ráo Rám Chand of Datiya, Chattar Singh of Shiupuri and Kaláras, the Bhadauriya Rájah, Rájah Durjan Sál of Chanderi and others had been directed from Delhi to place themselves under Muhammad Khán's orders. Sayyad Nijábat

\* The founder of Bhopál. Dowson's Elliot, VIII, 57, 59.

† About 44 miles south of Gwáliár.

‡ About 102 miles S. of Gwáliár, 4 miles N. of Saráe Nau, and 16 miles N. of Sádhaura.

§ I take this to be the Sipri of the maps, 67 miles S. of Gwáliár, but there is a Shiupuri 97 miles S. W. of that place.

|| About 74 miles S. of Gwáliár.

¶ Or perhaps the Pichor in Lat. 25° 57'; Long. 78° 27' in Gwáliár territory, some 25 miles S. E. of Gwáliár on the left bank of the Sind river.

'Ali Khán, faujdár of Irichh,\* was also told off; and on the part of Máhárájah Abbai Singh of Márwár, Jai Singh and Mán Singh Ráthor of Ratlám, about fifty miles west of Ujain, were deputed. The Máhárána of Udepúr reported that he had sent Ráo Mukráj Dhabhai from Udepúr towards Mandeshwar† with troops and artillery.

While Muhammad Khán was still at Gwáliár, an urgent letter came from Khán Daurán Khán. As the Mahrattas intended to cross the Narbada, it was necessary that, without further delay, the Nawáb should proceed by forced marches, not even staying at Sironj. He should get to the river in time to oppose the crossing. Four months had already been wasted. On receipt of these orders, Mukím Khán was sent on in advance, and after some opposition made good his way to Sironj. Sa'dat Khán was sent to Mandeshwar, and Daúd Khán to Sárangpur ‡

When Muhammad Khán reached Sádhaurah,§ eighteen miles beyond Saráe Nau|| to the south in the direction of Ujain, a letter written in Jamadi II, 1143, (Dec. 1730), was received from Asaf Jáh Nizám-ul Mulk.¶ This noble, after congratulations on Muhammad Khán's appointment, proposed that they should meet at the Narbada to concert common measures against the opponents of Islám. Nizam-ul Mulk had crossed at Fardánpur\*\* in order to quell a revolt in Laklána,†† and the opportunity would not recur as he seldom visited that part of his Subah. Muhammad Khán accepted the proposal, saying, that as the Mahrattas at the instigation of the Hindus of Hindústán intended to ravage the whole of Málwá, he trusted that Nizám-ul Mulk as the champion of Islám would stop them at the ferries on the Narbada.

On the 17th Rajab, 1143 H. (15th January, 1731), Muhammad Khán reached Sárangpur, about fifty miles from Ujain. Hearing of his approach, Mulhár Holkar, who with twenty thousand men was plundering the country, sent his baggage and heavy stores across the Narbada, and lightly equipped continued the investment of Sháhjahánpur, a town about eleven miles

\* Now in the Jhánsi district.

† About 78 miles N. W. of Ujain.

‡ About 52 miles N. E. of Ujain.

§ Lat.  $24^{\circ} 37'$ ; Long.  $77^{\circ} 39'$ .

|| Lat.  $24^{\circ} 48'$ ; Long.  $77^{\circ} 39'$ .

¶ The only other letter of his to Muhammad Khán preserved, of a date prior to this one, is a report of his fight with Ráo Bhím Háda of Kotah, Rájah Gaj Singh Narwari, Diláwar Khán, Sayyad Sher Khán, Bábar Khán, Dost Muhammad Khán and Farhat Khán. It took place on the 13th Sha'ban. The year 1796 S. (1719 A. D.) is given in Tod, II, 469.

\*\* Dowson's Elliot, VII, 498. A pass half way between Aurangábád and Burhánpúr.

†† This place is not traced.



south-west of Sárangpur and about twenty-one miles north-east of Ujain.

The day that the Muhammadans drew near to Sárangpur, about an hour to sunset, while the men were still scattered on the line of march, the enemy suddenly appeared and showed fight. The war howdahs (*Camáris*) having been taken off, Muhammad Khán got into a palki and started at the head of a small force. The enemy, as their custom was, spread out and came on in all directions. Soon, however, they fled "like crows on seeing a bow," six of them were killed, their heads brought in and their horses captured. Night coming on they were not pursued.

On the 19th Rajab, 1143 H. (17th January 1731), the army reached Sháhjahánpur from Sárangpur: and the next day they encamped near the village of Talodri. In the afternoon the enemy made their appearance and troops were moved out against them. On Muhammad Khán's mounting and advancing, they gave way and were followed for three *kos*. Seventy of them were slain by sword and spear. The heads and horses were brought in, with six or seven prisoners. Owing to the darkness the pursuit was stopped at one watch of the night, and the troops returned to camp. The people of the country were so frightened, that the Mahrattas left only one trooper in a town or village to collect their demands. After Muhammad Khán's arrival, however, and their defeat, the Mahrattas themselves were glad to withdraw beyond the Narbada. Ujain *Dár-ul-fath* was reached on the 22nd Rajab, 1143 H. (20th January 1731).

Spies now brought word that the Mahrattas, leaving their baggage on the other side of the Narbada, were coming across to plunder the towns and villages of Málwá. They were reported to have invested the town of Boláe.\* Accordingly on the 11th Sha'bán, 1143 H. (8th Feb. 1731), Muhammad Khán set up his tents and took the field again, turning towards Dhár.† Of all the contingents, that of Kunwar Bahádur of Orchha was the only one which had arrived.

While Muhammad Khán went towards Dhár, he sent his son, Ahmad Khán, with Muqím Khán, Yár Muhammad Khán, and Dáler Khán at the head of 12,000 horse and 20,000 foot to deal with Holkar in the direction of Sárangpur and Sháhjahánpur. The invaders were driven away towards Mandeshwar, after they had plundered in parganah Boláe. Then Yár Muhammad Khán made friends secretly with Mulhár Holkar, and the two chiefs exchanged turbans. As a pretence the army was taken towards Máhidpur,‡ and the traitor told Holkar that the country of Ujain was left

\* About 47 miles N. E. of Ujain and 14 miles S. E. of Sháhjahánpúr.

† About 50 miles S. W. of Ujain.

‡ 20 miles N. of Ujain and 38 miles W. of Sháhjahánpúr.

defenceless and could be plundered. Should he fail, however, he could then turn on Muhammad Khán in the direction of Dhár. Mulhár, persuaded by Yár Muhammad went to Ujain, and set fire to two or three houses in Rakúlganj. The naib (Muqím Khán) came out to meet the Mahrattas, and after some fighting they made off in the direction of Muhammad Khán. A story that they had plundered some merchants near the town of Andru\* in the *ta'luka* of Nand Lal Sandloi† was untrue.

Meanwhile Muhammad Khán had reached Dhár on the 17th Sha'bán, 1143 H. (14th Feb. 1731). From early morning of the 22nd (19th Feb. 1731) many Mahrattas appeared in the vicinity. The Muhammadans killed several, cut off their heads and brought in their horses. In the afternoon the contest ceased. Next morning Holkar with his army appeared in sight, and made a first attack on Sulaimán Khán who commanded three thousand horse. The attack was repelled. Then Ma'zum Khán with 1000 horse on the right, and Muhammad 'Umr Khán, faujdar of Mándú, on the left, hastened forward; and Muhammad Khán himself advancing quickly, the enemy gave way. Several leaders and some fifty troopers were left on the field, besides those wounded. The Muhammadan loss was twelve killed. Pursuit was made for two *kos*, and they returned to their tents when one quarter of the night was past. These contests went on for about ten days to the end of Sha'bán (26th Feb. 1731).

For some time no word had been heard of Nizám-ul Mulk's departure from Burhánpur.‡ At length on the 28th Sha'bán (25th Feb. 1731), a letter was received, and Muhammad Khan determined to set out for the Narbada. He had also been delayed by the non-arrival of Dáler Khán. The latter now wrote that Yár Muhammad Khán had gone off to his home, taking with him his friends and some men. Dáler Khán announced his own intention of joining if he were waited for. Accordingly on the 28th he arrived, and on the 29th Sha'bán (26th Feb. 1731), they set out for the Narbada by double marches. Other reasons for the delay may have been, that Muhammad Khán was not able to move without reinforcements, or that, to save his dignity, he did not wish to move more rapidly than he could help to the place of rendezvous with Nizám-ul Mulk. The Mahrattas had now been expelled for a time from Ujain, Mandeshwar, Dhár and Depálpur,§ and their new forts on the Narbada had been levelled.

A second letter came now from Nizám-ul Mulk referring to his having crossed the river at Fardánpur on the 20th Jamadi II, 1143 H. (20th Dec.

\* Query. The same as Indúr.

† Or perhaps *Mandloi*—See No. 7 of Index to Vol. III, of Aitchison's Treaties, ed. 1876.

‡ On the north bank of the Tápti, 132 miles S. E. from Ujain. Thornton, 141.

§ About 28 miles S. W. of Ujain.



1730), to suppress the rebellion in Zila' Laklána.\* He reports having heard that Báji Ráo had reached Sultánpur† and Nandurbár‡ on his way to Gujrát. It was thought that as Kanhaya Bánd and Pilá Gáekwár were opposed to him about the *chauth* of that Subah, he must intend to eject them; and being taken up with fighting among themselves, they would not find the time to invade Málwá. Spies had, however, since brought intelligence that Báji Ráo's brother was marching by way of Navápurah§ to Surat and Gujrát; meanwhile Báji Ráo, leaving Sultánpur and Nandurbár, would make for Málwá *via* Ghargún.|| His brother would then come through Dohad¶ to join him, and they would unite to expel the thánas of Kanhaya Jí and Pilá Gáekwár from Málwá. Kanhaya Názar, Pilá Gáekwár and Udá Punwár had opened negotiations with Nizám-ul Mulk, and he advises Muhammad Khán also to receive their overtures and try to bring them over.

On the 20th Rajab (18th Jan. 1731), Nizám-ul-Mulk wrote again from Gálnah\*\* that as soon as Muhammad Khán's letter was received on the 17th Rajab (15th Jan. 1731), he had started for Burhánpur. He trusted that Muhammad Khán would make no delay, so that they might meet and discuss plans together, for "*Daulat ham 'z itifák khezad*" (Union is strength). Another letter tells Muhammad Khán that Rájah Abhai Singh was about to make peace with Báji Ráo. Pilá Gáekwár, Kantá Bánd, Udá Jí Punwár and Anand Ráo had, however, entered into the closest relations with Nizám-ul-Mulk: and acting with them was Tirnek Ráo Pahárya, son of Khandu Jí, who had lately succeeded his father. The troops of these allies might amount to some twenty thousand horse. Chimna, brother of Báji Ráo, had 9000 horse, and would advance by the pass of Nánabyári, which is towards Gujrát. Báji Ráo was reported to have 3000 or 4000 horse. Holkar with some 3000 men had gone towards Málwá.

On Friday the 1st Sha'bán 1143 H. (29th Jan. 1731), Nizám-ul-Mulk, who was near Dhámanganw,†† acknowledged the receipt of Muhammad Khán's letter reporting his arrival at Sádhaurah. As Dhámanganw was

\* Or Laklába.

† About 5 miles from the north bank of the Tápti, and 30 miles S. of the Narbada, and 102 miles W. of Burhánpur.

‡ About 10 miles S. of the Tápti and 30 miles S. W. of Sultánpur.

§ About 12 miles S. of the Tápti, 86 miles S. W. of Nandurbár and 165 miles W. of Burhánpur.

|| On the Kundi river, 25 miles S. of the Narbada and about 55 miles N. W. of Burhánpur.

¶ On the boundary of Málwá and Gujrát, 100 miles W. of Ujain. Thornton 284.

\*\* About 120 miles S. W. of Burhánpur, 165 miles N. E. of Bombay, in the Khándesh District. Thornton, 433.

†† About 70 miles S. W. of Burhánpur.

counted as thirty *kos* from Burhánpur, Nizám-ul-Mulk hoped soon to reach the Narbada.

He does not appear to have hastened himself much, for it was not till Sunday, the 17th Sha'bán (14th Feb. 1731), that leaving behind his large guns, artillery and heavy equipage he started from Burhánpur. On the 22nd (19th Feb. 1731), he was at Sálganw, a distance of twenty-two *kos* from Burhánpur, and intended to march *viâ* Ghargún to the Narbada. Muhammad Khán was recommended to come by the pass (*kanal*?) of Naubahra, which was the usual route. On Saturday the 23rd, Nizám-ul-Mulk was within twenty *kos* of the ferry of Akbarpur\* on the Narbada, the advanced tents would go on next day, and on the 25th (22nd Feb. 1731), he hoped to reach Akbarpur. The darogha, however, came back and reported that Muhammad Khán was still above the gháts. Although professing to be burning for an interview, Nizám-ul-Mulk thought that his dignity required him to divide the remaining distance into two marches. Muhammad Khán, in answer to one of the letters, had complained that the allies Kanhaya Jí, Chimná Jí and others had sent him no men. Nizám-ul-Mulk reassures him by pointing out that they were far away near Mándavi† in the *zila'* of Surat. Some further time was occupied by Nizám-ul-Mulk going off to take a fort, and the desired interview did not take place till some time afterwards. We have no report of what took place, further than that the two Subahdars agreed to act in concert to put down the Mahrattas. Muhammad Khán in his report to the Emperor is loud in his praises of Nizám-ul-Mulk as an obedient and dutiful subject of the State. Muhammad Khán finally left Akbarpur on the 1st Shawwál 1143 H. (29th March, 1731).

Nizám-ul-Mulk went from Akbarpur to reduce the forts of Rájaur and Nadáwáli, the residence of Mohan Singh on the other side of the ferry. By the 4th Shawwal (1st April, 1731), the besieged were suing for terms, the fort was to be evacuated and made over to Nizám-ul-Mulk's envoys. This noble was, however, threatened by a new danger, which hastened his departure from that part of the country. He heard that Báji Ráo leaving the Narbada had gone towards Surat and Nurpurah. This made it necessary for him, he said, to provide without losing a moment, for the safety of Aurangábád and other parganahs and important forts. His own spies confirmed the news, saying, that they had left during the night, when it was said that Báji Ráo would march next day. Chimná Jí Dámodar having been released, had reached Dobhoi, twenty miles south-east of Baroda; and he had written to his son that Báji Ráo had moved and gone towards the Ghát of Nánabyári.

\* About 35 miles S. of Indúr and 40 miles S. E. of Dhár.

† On the Tápti about 32 miles east of Surát.

The explanation of Nizám-ul-Mulk's anxiety and haste would appear to be that he had heard of the defeat, on the 1st April 1731, between Baroda and Dohoi in Gujrát, of his allies, Píláji Gáekwár and others. Udá Jí and Chinná Jí Pandit were taken prisoners.\* This defeat rendered futile all the negotiations for a general alliance between the two leaders, Muhammad Khán and Nizám-ul-Mulk. But Muhammad Khán was benefited indirectly, for Nizám-ul-Mulk was forced to take the field openly against Báji Ráo, thus for one season averting from Málwá the full force of the Mahratta depredations. Báji Ráo was forced to remain in the Dakhin on the defensive.

Grant Duff† speaks of no open fighting between Báji Ráo and Nizám-ul-Mulk from April 1731 till the time of concluding a treaty in August of that year. Nizám-ul-Mulk, however, in the last but one of his letters to Muhammad Khán, details what he calls his victories over Báji Ráo. The latter had invested Baroda which was occupied by men of his own nation. But hearing of the approach of the Muhammadans, the Mahrattas raised the siege and made off towards Surat, and when they thought they were at a safe distance, they turned off to plunder parganah Auklah.

Hearing of their movements, Nizám-ul-Mulk says, he left the ferry of Akbarpur and passed near the fort of Mándó, sending his heavy baggage and large guns to Burlánpur. Making forced marches he soon reached the river, where finding much of his artillery in his way and difficult to get across, he left it behind. Then redoubling his haste he reached the port of Surat, and for the third time left more of his *impedimenta* at the village of Malwá. They pressed on though troubled by hunger and thirst, carriage became very difficult to procure, and for two or three days deaths were frequent. For most of the time they passed through desert and wilderness. After crossing the ferry they drew near to the enemy and caught them unawares. They took to flight, but the Bhils and Kolis captured numbers of them, more especially at night when they had lost their way. The Muhammadan army had now come to the shores of an arm of the sea. This gives an opening to the Persian scribe to descant on serpents and the rod of Moses, Pharaoh and Pharaoh's host.

They had passed through the deserts and unoccupied country of Khándesh, Surat, and Kokan, where from the thickness of the woods, it is difficult to force a practicable route. When they reached Surat the enemy were driven towards Daman,‡ which was under the sway of the Farangi, and thence to the Kokan, the western boundary of the Dakhin. They then were caught at a place where you go from the Tal Kokan to the country

\* Grant Duff, p. 225.

† p. 225.

‡ On the coast, 55 miles S. of Surat.

above the ghát. Thank God! the Subah of Gujrát was freed from Báji Ráo, Málwá was no longer in danger, and the fort of Surat, which is the gate of God's house (Mecca), had been recovered from the infidel.

While Muhammad Khán had gone to meet Nizám-ul-Mulk, he had sent his son, Ahmad Khán, with Mukim Khán to the east to reduce Kálkli and Chakaldah\* two forts on the right bank of the Narbada, the head quarters of Udá Punwár. Both were places noted for their strength, more especially Chakaldah, which had four forts and deep ditches, with jungle on three sides and the Narbada on the fourth. As the garrisons offered a stubborn resistance, Muhammad Khán himself determined to march to his son's aid; and leaving Akbarpur on the 1st Shawwál 1143, (29th March, 1731), in two days he arrived near Kálkli. By an effort this fort was taken, and the next day they proceeded to invest Chakaldah. After six hours' fighting the besieged were overcome so far that they sued for terms. Three thousand souls, men and women, submitted and were set at liberty. The walls, ditch and bastions were razed to the ground, and gold keys as a token of the capture were forwarded to the Emperor. While the Muhammadans were encamped near Chakaldah, Báji Ráo was plundering in the direction of Jábwah,† while Rájah Abhai Singh was opposing him. Muhammad Khán hoped to march that way after clearing the country and destroying the forts.

This capture of Udá Jí's forts provoked a strong remonstrance from Nizám-ul-Mulk. He had told Muhammad Khán that Udá Jí and his friends were at enmity with Báji Ráo. To secure success in the negotiations with them, they must be treated with consideration. If there were any of Holkar's men in the forts, then with God's aid they should be seized. Otherwise it was highly advisable to postpone any attack, and to put these men out of humour for a trifling cause was undesirable. The year before, when Ráj Adhiraj (Raj Jai Singh Sawái of Jaipur) had cleared out the forts, he could not maintain himself, and the former owners re-occupied them. Former Názims had not troubled themselves about the place, which was at a distance from Ujain and in one corner. To retain it would give great trouble and bring little profit. Above all, at such a time they should not be interfered with, and the Emperor's advisers knew nothing of the state of affairs. The break up of the confederacy by the defeat on the 1st April, 1731, rendered these remonstrances of little weight, and before the letter was received the forts had been taken and levelled with the ground.

Muhammad Khán turned against the fort of Konsi, the home of

\* Chakaldah is about 110 miles S. E. of Ujain, on the right bank of the Narbada, Kálkli has not been traced.

† There is a Jabwah 100 miles W. of Ujain.

Máwáe Bhilán,\* which possessed four strong citadels connected with each other, and surrounded by a deep ditch filled with water. On all sides were steep hills and inaccessible ravines. Fighting with muskets, rockets, arrows, spears, swivel-guns (*rahkila*) and cannon went on day and night. The first entrenchment was stormed and the garrison asked for terms, which were granted. The fort was not dismantled, as it afforded a protection against the inroads of the Mahrattas.

While Muhammad Khán was engaged with these forts, he heard that Mulhár Holkar was plundering in the country of Rámpura† and Mandeshwar. He was opposed by the Imperial troops in the neighbourhood of Sárangpur, Sháhjahánpur and Dhár, and he went off for a time into Jaipur territory. Meanwhile Anthú, another Mahratta leader, had ravaged the country round Kánth. The two leaders then united with Maṭhwárah to trouble the road between Paráth and Sháhjahánpur. Reports of these things came from Sheikh Amán-ullah, manager of Sháhjahánpur, the *jágir* of Nizám-ul-Mulk, and from Dáud Khán, chela, Náib Faujdár of Sárangpur. At this time too, Fath Singh Wáúlbánsi and other Mahrattas had crossed the Narbada, and unopposed at any point by any of the Hindustani armies, had plundered the country of Mándú‡ returning home by way of Bárigarh.

Muhammad Khán returned and reached Ujain on the 13th Zi'lka'd of the 13th year, (9th May, 1731). He complains that besides himself no one else was heartily desirous of repelling the Mahrattas. To add to his difficulties, his troops now mutinied and demanded their arrears of pay. He found some means or other to content them for the time. Then Rájah Kishor Singh, son of Rájah Ajit Singh, was despatched to parganah Muhammadpur, and Sayyad Fath 'Ali Khán Bárha to parganah Bhadáwar, to protect the towns and bar the way to the enemy; while Anwar Khán was placed in Ujain itself, and Muḳim Khán had orders to drive off any of the enemy who approached that place. When these dispositions had been made, Muhammad Khán on the 19th Zi'lka'd (15th May, 1731) left Ujain.

Máháráo Durjan Sál of Koṭah, Kuṇwar Bahádur of Orchha, and the sons of the Rájah of Chanderi were asked to take some of Muhammad Khán's troops and attack Anthú, who was reported to be then near Kánth at the head of one thousand men; and Mulhár, who had appeared again in the neighbourhood of Sárangpur. This request was refused.

On the 8th Zi'l Hajj (3rd June, 1731), Muhammad Khán was near Kánth. Anthú now withdrew. But next day, when the Nawáb reached

\* Or perhaps Wámá Ráo Bhilán; or *Mawási*, the title generally given to the chiefs on the Narbada. (Malcolm's Central India, I., 516.)

† There is a Rámpura 40 miles N. E. of Mandeshwar.

‡ Near the Narbada about 60 miles S. of Ujain.



Sháhjahánpur, word came from Dáud Khán, náib of Sárangpur, that he would be overwhelmed by Mulhár unless he were reinforced at once. Forthwith, at midnight, the Máháráo, Kunwar Bahádur, and the sons of the Rájah of Chanderi having been appointed to lead the van, the army set out and reached Sárangpur, about nineteen miles distant to the north, at an hour and a half after sunrise. The troops were still on the line of march or engaged in crossing the river, when Holkar, Anthú and others suddenly appeared. The Muhammadans at once drew up and engaged them, the fighting going on till an hour before sunset. The Mahrattas then fled, and in the pursuit, which extended for four *kos*, many were killed. Muhammad Khán, with his men, was out till midnight conducting the pursuit and plundering the camp and baggage, called in the Mahratta tongue "*Paráo.*" When the pursuers got near the town of Sundarsi, about twenty-three miles south of Sárangpur, a spy came and informed them that the enemy in their flight from the field, after resting a short time in Sundarsi, had resumed their route and were making for the Narbada, and must have gone already fifteen or twenty *kos*. The Muhammadans after a pursuit of ten to twelve *kos* returned to their camp.

Muhammad Khán speaks of having with him twenty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. Night and day he was engaged in efforts to expel the invaders. On the other hand, the Názim of Gujrát (Hámid Khán?) had only given cash, jewels, elephants and horses to Báji Ráo, while the *thánas* were still in the hands of Kanyá and Udá Punwár. The Názim had never gone a *kos* from the city. In the dispute between the Názim and Mubáriz-ul-Mulk (Sarbuland Khán) he heard that in the first encounter the latter gained the advantage, but night coming on the pursuit was stopped, and next morning an arrangement was come to.

The Rájahs had throughout shown great reluctance to attend Muhammad Khán, Kunwar Bahádur of Orchha being the only one who had done any real service. Máháráo Durjan Singh of Kofah, and Ráo Matwárah now requested leave to go home, and threatened to go without it, if leave were not granted. They quitted the army on the 22nd Muharram, 1144 H. (16th July, 1731). From this defection others were disheartened, and a few days afterwards Kunwar Bahádur of Orchha with four or five hundred horse, and Jográj, son of Rájah Jai Singh of Chanderi, with forty or fifty horse marched away to their homes. Although, as Muhammad Khán says, the presence or absence of the latter was equally matter of indifference, still these defections were discouraging. The other Rájahs, Udait Singh of Orchha, Rám Chand of Datyá, Chattar Singh of Sháhábád, and the Bhadaurya Rájah, had paid no heed to all the orders and messengers sent to them direct from the Emperor. Nor had any attention been vouchsafed at Court to

Muhammad Khán's recommendation of Hindu Singh Chandela\* for whom he had asked for the rank of *Sihhazári*, 2000 horse, a *jágir* of his native country, and restoration to his zamindari. If Hindu Singh were sent to Málwá, the Bhadauriya Rájah would no longer have a pretext for lingering at Kanauj (where he held the office of Faujdár).

After Mulhár and Anṭhú had recrossed the Narbada, Muhammad Khán went to extort his revenue from one Umáu†; and in two marches having reached Rájgarh,‡ he defeated the zamindar referred to, and settled matters with him. Muhammad Khán then returned to Sironj. This place, which is about 136 miles north-east of Ujain and about 150 miles south of Gwáliár, he made his head-quarters, probably because it was further from the Narbada than Ujain, and nearer his line of retreat by Gwáliár to Hindustán. His foothold in Málwá was too precarious for him to risk being surrounded and cut off. He appears to have remained at Sironj during the rainy season of 1731.

The state of the Súbah was most deplorable. The whole country had been spoiled by the Názim and ravaged by the Mahrattas. It was entirely out of cultivation and uninhabited (*be cheragh*), nowhere was any crop to be seen, there was nothing but dry grass. The villages which were inhabited had been plundered by the Thákurs and burnt to the ground, the ravages of the infidel caused the country to be deserted. Only Rs. 5000 had been collected from Mandeshwar and Rs. 4000 from Sironj and Bhilsa.§ During the rains of 1731, Muhammad Khán made repeated reports of these facts, stating his want of money, the mutinous conduct of his troops, the impossibility of getting any revenue from Málwá, and the necessity for help in men and money. These urgent appeals were left unanswered.

His difficulties were further increased by the fact that Málwá, from one end to the other, was granted out in *tankhwah* to *jágirdárs*, who were backed up by Khán Daurán Khán and Roshan-ud-daula. These *jágirdárs* complained at Court of the slightest interference, but gave not the least assistance. Nowhere was there sufficient land left for the Subahdar to plant the sole of his foot, much less to use for a riding or hunting-ground. On the one side, from a tank which lies two and a half *kos* from Ujain, began the *jágir* of Burhán-ul-Mulk and others; and in another direction, from Fathá-

\* Apparently Hindu Singh of Chachendi in the Cawnpur district. He was ejected from his estate in the tenth year by Burhán-ul-Mulk and Rájah Gopál Singh Bhadauriya. [Dowson's Elliot VIII. 46.]

† Or Admiyán.

‡ Long. 76°, 46' and Lat. 24°—32 miles N. of Sárangpur and 66 miles W. of Sironj.

§ About 44 miles S. E. of Sironj.



bád,\* four or five *kos* from the city, the parganahs and villages were all in *jágir*. Rámpurah† was held by Rájah Jai Singh Sawái; Haif Ali Khán's *jágir* was Kankrál; Rájah Málráj held Kadraulah in Dhámoni;‡ other portions of the Subah had been assigned to Nizám-ul-Mulk Asaf Jáh, to Nawab Kudsia,§ to Háfiz Khidmatgár Khán, Mukarrab-ul-hazrat Khákán, to Mír Husain Khán Kokah,|| to Sa'd-ud-din Khán Bahádur Mír Atash, to 'Ali Ahmad Khán, and to the eunuchs of His Majesty. Many of the agents of these grantees allowed their *ta'lukahs* to become places of resort for the Mahrattas, where the plunder from the imperial territory was stored. When any Mahrattas took refuge with them and a force was sent after them, the agents declared that there were no fugitives in their parganahs. If the army entered their lands, they then raised loud complaints of the damage. Thus everything had to be left in confusion, and it became impossible to re-settle the country.

The zamindars of Rámpurah were in league with Mulhár Holkar and helped to plunder the country. When the imperial army followed them up, Rájah Jai Singh Sawái remonstrated at Court, and Muhammad Khán was rebuked. In defending himself he gives an instance of what was done. Sitá Rám Nágár had been chief writer of the zamindars of Rámpurah till Ráj Adhiráj took possession. This man then became a jama'dár in the regiment of Mukím Khán. Having broken his leg, he was put on Mukím Khán's elephant, and the day the army left Bansilah he set out for his home followed by fifty or sixty men. Rájah Jai Singh Sawái's men were lying in ambush at seven or eight *kos* from Rámpurah. As he passed they stopped him and seized the elephant. They would neither return the elephant nor grant an interview to the Nawáb's messengers. Muhammad Khán exclaims how hard it is that Ráj Adhiráj, who held all Akbarábád and Ajmer, and had lately received the parganahs round the capital, should try to stretch forth his hand on Subah Málwá and intrigue there with the infidels.

As for Haif 'Ali Khán's *jágir*, it had been customary for the zamindar of Kankrál to pay *peshkash* to former názims; one lakh of rupees had been paid to Rájah Girdhar Bahádur besides four elephants. Now instead of injuring, Muhammad Khán had benefited the *jágirdár*. When Mukím Khán went there, he settled the zamindars' payment at a higher amount, collected the money, and remitted it to the *jágirdár*. The latter's Amil still retained possession of the *jágirs* of 'Abd-ur-razák Khán, Khwájah Munír

\* About 12 miles S. of Ujain.

† There are several Rámpurahs, I suppose this to be the one 56 miles N. W. of Sironj.

‡ 69 miles E. of Sironj near Khimlása.

§ Mother of Muhammad Sháh.

|| Killed in 1149 H. in fight with Báji Ráo outside Delhi. Grant Duff, p. 236.

Khán and Ghási Rám. After settling Ujain, Muhammad Khán intended, he said, to go to Dhámoni to recover the *jágir* of Rájah Múlráj.

Seeing that no one in the Presence paid any attention to his representations, Muhammad Khán determined to leave a naib in his place and repair to Court. On his way, he resolved to settle Sháhábád\* and Ranúdah,† the faujdári of which Rájah Chattar Singh had not yet relinquished, and he had also behaved badly to 'Atík-ullah Khán, naib of Muhammad Khán. This expedition put the finishing touch to the Nawáb's misdeeds, and no doubt formed one of the causes of his sudden recall.

Rájah Chattar Singh Narwari, who was specially recommended to Muhammad Khán by Háfiz Khidmatgár Khán as his "friend and companion", held the Sarkárs of Sháhábád and Ranúdah, to which Muhammad Khán had been appointed faujdár. His ancestral estates were in Shiupuri and Kaláras, and his country extended up to the neighbourhood of Sironj. He also held Narwar,‡ which for seven hundred years had never been in possession of the Hindus. Although he had been ordered to join he did not attend, he did not give up the *Sarkárs*, and nothing could be collected; at length he surrounded Sayyad Atík-ullah Khán, naib, and cut off his supplies. From his position in the line of Muhammad Khán's communication with Hindústán, he was able to give great annoyance. Narwar, "which is as a gateway sufficient for the passage of one man at a time", was the only route open to recruits; the road by Bhadáwar being closed by the Bhadauriya Rájah. Seven or eight times the men of Chattar Singh had murdered messengers at the pass of Narwar and had taken their letters. Only one pair of messengers, after giving up their letters, had escaped with their lives. To obviate this inconvenience, Muhammad Khán renewed his request that his son Akbar Khán might be made faujdár of Narwar and Bhadáwar. Or if that were not approved, some one of the Mughal party might be appointed to keep the road open. This request was refused on the ground that, Sháhábád, having recently been taken from Rájah Chattar Singh, Narwar, his native country, could not be taken without any fault. As an alternative, the Nawáb urged that Chattar Singh's rank (*mansab*) and *jágirs* might be taken away, as a lesson to others who had failed to attend in obedience to the Emperor's orders. After writing to him in vain several times, Muhammad Khán decided to proceed to active measures against him.

About the commencement of his second year in Málwá (October—November, 1731,) Muhammad Khán marched to Saráe Nau about fifty miles north of Sironj, giving out that he was on his way to Court. On the 3rd Jamádi, I. 1144 H. (23rd October, 1731), the army surrounded the village

\* About 90 miles N. W. of Sironj.

† About 68 miles N. of Sironj.

‡ About 44 miles S. of Gwáliár.

of Labkára. The villagers relying on the strength of their fort resisted and fought for three watches. At length they took to flight, and the small fort was carried by assault (*ba-sar-i-suwári*); many of the garrison were killed or left for half dead. The following day, an attack was made on Chándaur\* where there was a strong fort, and the zamindárs were noted for their turbulence. Fighting went on all day, but at length this fort too was taken, and lives were lost on both sides.

The Muhammadans next went to Chargún, a fort on a high hill, surrounded by jungle, and with many outworks. Its defenders relying on their numbers took to the jungles and ravines. Fighting went on morning and evening for twenty-four days; till the enemy sued for and obtained terms. Thence the Imperialists turned to Bhándaur,† the stronghold of Kahri Singh, grandson of Chattar Singh. During the night Kahri Singh made off and his fort was taken. Two or three other forts were reduced in the same way.

The last place attacked was Sháhábád, Chattar Singh's place of residence, and declared, perhaps with some exaggeration, to be as strong as the fortress of Gwáliár. After some time had passed, Chattar Singh proposed to negotiate and Muhammad Khán tried to conciliate him. It was agreed that he should join with his troops. Intelligence, however, came of a fresh invasion under Báji Ráo. The night before the morning fixed for the march, Chattar Singh brought forward claims for pay. These were all agreed to. During the night, however, Chattar Singh absconded and made off to his own country. As the danger pressed, Muhammad Khán had no alternative but to return to Sironj.

The Mahrattas were reported to be in force in the country of Khanján and Umán and Sewni,‡ and though in the Dakhin they talk of the "*chauth*," i. e., one-fourth, yet they took from the towns and villages more than three shares both in Málwá and Gujrát. As in this year (1144) they felt quite safe on the side of Gujrát, they had brought nearly 100,000 horse into Málwá. Fath Singh, an agent of Sáhu,§ Pílá Jádón, Anand Ráo, brother of Udá Punwár, Sámájí and others, with more than thirty thousand horse, posted themselves near Khimlása, on the east of the town of Sironj towards Chanderi, at a distance of seven *kos* from Sironj. Chinná, Báji Ráo's brother, Mulhár and others with a force of thirty thousand horse were in the

\* Perhaps the Chandoria of the Indian Atlas—Sheet 52 N. E. in Lat. 24°, 59½' Long. 77°, 35½' to the N. W. of Saráe Nau.

† Perhaps the Bhadaura of the Indian Atlas—Sheet, 52, N. E. Lat. 24°, 48'; Long. 77°, 27½', about 13 miles N. of Gúnah.

‡ Sewi, or Sewli.

§ I cannot find this Fath Singh in Grant Duff, is it another name for Báji Ráo?

country of Umatwárah.\* There was a further force of twelve thousand men which had not crossed the Narbada. Another army, supposed to number ten to twelve thousand men, was directing its steps towards Málwá by way of Gadh.† Eighty or ninety thousand of the enemy were thus advancing on all four sides.

As soon as the Mahrattas crossed the Narbada, the zamindárs sent agents to fix the amount of black-mail (*khandali*) to be levied. The money was then paid, and the Rájahs, no longer anxious about their own territories, stayed at home. The zamindár of Shiupuri and Kaláras and others gave hostages for the punctual payment of the annual tribute. The Rájah of Orchha, the Bhadauriya Rájah, the sons of Chattarsál, and the Rájah of Datiya fixed what they had to pay. The zamindárs of Málwá exchanged turbans with the Mahrattas and entered into alliance with them.

Muhammad Khán tried to open negotiations direct with Rájah Sáhu at Púna, but the only answer received was, that Báji Ráo Pandit Pardhán, who was of high dignity and power in his State, was his sole and only adviser in all matters. A written document should be given as demanded; Piláji Jádón and Mulhár Holkar were subordinates of the Pandit Pardhán, and must act according to his wishes.

On hearing that the enemy were approaching Khimlása, Muhammad Khán left Loḍah-Dongar,‡ and after continuous marching for three days and nights he arrived at Sironj. It was decided that next morning they would attack the enemy, who were reported to be thirty thousand strong. Then intelligence was received that Mulhár had left Umatwárah with fifty thousand horse, and after levying black-mail from the Maharáo (of Kotah) had arrived within fifteen or sixteen miles of Sironj. Twenty thousand men were also scattered about Mandeshwar, Ujain, and Shábjahánpúr, to the south and west of Sironj.

It was obvious that if Muhammad Khán went on to Khimlása, it would take him ten to fifteen days to defeat and pursue the enemy. While he was absent, a second Mahratta leader would plunder Sironj, Bbilsa and other towns. Muhammad Khán thought it best to succumb. He therefore sent for both the Mahratta leaders, gave them presents, with horses and an elephant, by way of "*khiḷa't*." After an agreement had been made, they went away by Gadh and crossed the Narbada in boats. After the Mah-

\* Umadwara, a small district in the province of Málwá, of which it occupies the centre, it is bounded by the Káli Sind and Parbati rivers. The principal towns are Chaunchra, Rájghar and Kujnir. Hamilton's *Hindústán*, I, p. 357. See also Aitchison's *Treaties*, Ed. 1876, Vol. III, p. 446.

† Perhaps Garh Mandala, 90 miles S. E. of Ságara.

‡ From the remarks of the author of the *Hadikat-ul-Akdlm*, in describing the campaign of the English south of Gwáliár in 1782, it seems that this place must be quite close to Kaláras.

ratta custom, they had asked for an agreement in writing, but this, without the Emperor's leave, Muhammad Khán refused to give. He reported to Court that if his orders were to oppose the Mahrattas, the requisite troops and money must be sent, and if a settlement was to be made he would act accordingly.

Muhammad Khán now settled for the rainy season of 1732 at Sironj, and employed his leisure in writing to Delhi for help. He prophesied that the next year the Mahrattas, if not checked, would spread from the banks of the Narbada to Akbarábád, Allahábád, and close to the territory of Bihár, then would finally turn upon Subah Ajmer. The income of Málwá could not provide for the pay of an army. For twenty years he had served the Imperial house, but whatever he had saved was all expended. His *jágirs* were in the hands of the Bundelas, and when he was despatched to Málwá, the ministers made him swear solemnly that, till the Subah was reduced to order, he would make no attempt to recover his *jágirs*. Meanwhile Ján Nisár Khán, faujdár of Kora, had for three years levied large sums from Sahindah, and other parganahs made over in trust to Anandi Sangráam. Without 40,000 horse and 40,000 foot, order could not be established, while he (Muhammad Khán) had not money to pay even two thousand horse. He therefore asked for five lakhs of rupees a month, a strong Mughul force, and contingents from the friendly Rájahs. The Mahrattas had four or five armies stationed at five or six marches from each other, and a similar disposition ought to be made of the Imperial forces. If his word be doubted, and his reports be held long-winded and exaggerated, he begs that some one else be deputed, whose reports are trusted and "who can abbreviate this lengthiness," and he (Muhammad Khán) would willingly serve under him. There were of old seven Sultáns in the Dakhin, but former sovereigns overcame them. In comparison, what an easy task it would be to get rid of "this set of thieves" from one corner of that country, if His Majesty would leave Sháhjahanábád and bring an army to Málwá. If things went on much longer as they were, the disturbance would soon extend to Hindústán. How much better it would be, then, to resist the encroachment at once.

*"Sar-i-chashma báyad giriftan ba-míl,*

*"Chú pur shud, na báyad guzashtan ba píL."*

Instead of sending any help, letters from Court were now sent to various zamindars, hinting that a new názim was about to be appointed. They should therefore await his arrival instead of joining Muhammad Khán. Similar letters of encouragement had been forwarded to the Mahrattas. Nizám-ul-Mulk, although appealed to, made no sign; and then other efforts were made to obtain help from a distance. By a parwanah of the 20th Rabi' ul-Thani, in the 14th year (6th March, 1732), the Nawáb sent



Rs. 17,000, in *hundis* upon the bankers of Lahore, to the commanders (*tumandárs*) of the Afghans living in Kábul. They were requested to enlist recruits, but none appear to have come.

The only answer from Court to Muhammad Khán's appeals was an upbraiding letter from Khán Daurán Khán. The Mahrattas had been allowed to spread all over the country, while Muhammad Khán's agents accompanied them, pointing out the proper routes. It was asserted that the arrival of the enemy at Orchha and Narwar was with the connivance of those agents. By great exertions, Khán Daurán Khán says, he had obtained a renewal of the grant of *parganah* Akbarpur\* from 1146 Fusli, although His Majesty said it had been granted several years before for one harvest only, and the officials of the Diwání made objection that it was *khálisa*, or directly under the Crown. In another letter of this time, Khán Daurán Khán sets forth with great vehemence his own incorruptibility, and asserts that, except the enhanced *jágir* of one *kror* of *dám* granted in the Sayyads' time (1713-1720), he had received nothing. All beyond this he held to be accursed. What then could he gain by dismissals or appointments to offices or *jágirs*? When Muhammad Khán was appointed to Málwá, he had, out of friendship, pressed for the removal of one of his (Khán Daurán's) own relations, who had been previously named.

Soon a *farmán* in the Emperor's own hand-writing reached Sironj, informing Muhammad Khán that Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe had been appointed his successor, and directing him to report himself at Mustakirrul-Khiláfat Akbarábád, to which place the Emperor in person intended to proceed after hunting in the preserves of Shiuli near Delhi. Information of his supercession had already reached him on the 4th Jamadi, I. (12th Oct. 1732), in letters from Káim Khán, his son, Mangal Khán, who had gone to Delhi to raise men and money, and Pir 'Ali Khán, his representative at Court. Orders were at once issued to Mukím Khán to report himself to Muhammad Khán after making over the town of Ujain and the other places to the servants of Ráj Adhíráj. On the 6th of the same month (14th Oct. 1732), the Nawáb's family and dependents started on their way home. The men engaged by Mangal Khán were made over, with the Emperor's approval, to the naibs of Ráj Adhíráj (Jai Singh Sawáe). Muhammad Khán then left Málwá and arrived at Akbarábád on the 29th Jamadi, II. (6th Dec. 1732), after an absence of two years.

Apart from difficulties about money, and the general non-success of his arms, three causes appear to have led to Muhammad Khán's disgrace, (1), the complaints of the *jágirdárs*, who were influential in the palace, (2), the attack on Chattar Singh Narwari, who was protected by the favourite, Háfiz Khidmatgár Khán, and others, (3), the friendship which

\* In the Cawnpur district.

appeared to have sprung up between Muhammad Khán and Nizám-ul-Mulk, whose acts were then most jealously watched by the clique in power. The subsequent rapid advance of the Mahrattas is Muhammad Khán's best justification, and it is clear that with inferior means he did as much, if not more, than the Wazir and the Amír-ul-Umrá, backed by all the forces of the empire, were able to accomplish.

*Campaigns against the Mahrattas—1145-1149 H. (1732—1736).*

In the 15th year (Sept. 1732 to Aug. 1733), shortly after Muhammad Khán's arrival at Akbarábád, he received a *farmán* from the Emperor stating that the Mahrattas were reported to be between Sironj and Narwar, and engaged in plundering the zamindars of the Umaiṭ clan. Jamdat-ul-Mulk, 'Itimád-ud-daula, Kamr-uddin Khán having been appointed to repel them, Muhammad Khán was directed to join him. 'Itimád-ud-daula also wrote to the same effect.\*

With Kamr-ud-din Khán, Wazir-ul-Mamálik, came Zabír-ud-daula Mahámid Jang, his brother, and Khán Fírúz Jang, son of Asaf Jáh Nizám-ul-Mulk and son-in-law of the wazír. When they reached Akbarábád, Muhammad Khán went out to meet them and escort them. The next day the wazír came to the Nawáb's house and urged him to join in the campaign. Looking on it as a holy war for Islám, Muhammad Khán agreed. He then advanced with Khán Fírúz Jang and Mahámid Jang beyond Narwar to Loḡah-Dangar, south of Kaláras. There he heard that the infidels had crossed the Narbada, but Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe, unable to bar their way, had sent his baggage home to his own country, and had himself gone one march in that direction. The wazír, who had received a letter from Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe, wrote urgently to recall Muhammad Khán, on the plea that the rains were upon them and nothing more could be done. The Nawáb in obedience to these orders retraced his steps, and rejoined the wazír at Shiupuri.

They then marched to punish the son of Udárú, who had instigated the murder of Ján Nisár Khán, faujdár of Kora and brother-in-law to the wazír. On the 9th Muharram, 1146 H. (11th June, 1733), they drew near to Gházipur.† The Rájah's fort was bombarded from three hours after sunrise till far into the night. During that day the batteries were advanced to the ditch of the fort which surrounded the houses. Bhagwant in the darkness fled to the jungle, and took refuge in Súthar, a place of strength belonging to him. Muhammad Khán then encamped on the Jamna at the

\* His full titles are Wazír-ul-Mamálik, Jamdat-ul-Mulk, 'Itimád-ud-daula, Kamr-uddin Khán, Chín, Naṣrat Jang.

† In the Fathpur district, about 11 miles S. W. of Fathpur, and about 8 miles from the left bank of the Jamna.



ferry of Chár Khájari, while troops went in pursuit of the fugitive. One account\* states that Muhammad Khán adjusted the matter by exacting a contribution, but his own letters do not state how the affair ended.

Muhammad Khán does not appear to have taken part in Muzaffar Khán's campaign of the 16th year (1146-1147 = Sept. 1733—Sept. 1734), or in that of the 17th year (1147-1148) under Kamr-ud-dín Khán. About this time Muhammad Khán had a dangerous illness, and for fourteen days he could eat or drink nothing but a little rice-water.

In 1148 H. (May 1735—May 1736), or 1149 H. (May 1736—April 1737), Muhammad Khán reported to His Majesty that the son of Báji Ráo with other leaders was in Bundelkhand. A party of them with two or three hundred horse came to the banks of the Jamna, and ascertained several places where the river was fordable. The rumour was that they intended to cross into the Duáb. In reply the Emperor wrote that the sons of Chattarsál were in league with the enemy, and had given them a passage. It was expected that they would ravage Korá, Kálpi and Itáwah. Sarbuland Khán Mubáriz-ul-Mulk had received orders to prevent their crossing, while Muhammad Khán, instead of remaining idle, should proceed towards Gwáliár. The Emperor intended to go to Akbarábád in person.

Muhammad Khán's reply to this command was, that he had no means to raise an army, that he still owed his men the pay for their second year in Málwá. In his beggared state he had not thought it advisable to go to Gwáliár, he was moreover ill, but he hoped his son, Akbar Khán, would be appointed faujdár of Gwáliár. In another letter to the wazir he declines to attend, as he does not wish to appear at Court solitary and without friends. He sent his son, Káim Khán, with such troops as he had. If the Emperor appointed him to a subah and granted him ten *kror* of *dám*, he could raise as many men as was desired. To meet the enemy fifty thousand men were required, and the revenues of a subah would be absorbed. To go with an insignificant force to Gwáliár, and there to sit with hands drawn into sleeve and feet into skirt, would only encourage the invaders.

Next Khán Daurán Khán Amír-ul-Umrá writes two letters to Muhammad Khán. It was reported that Chimná Jí had advanced beyond Gwáliár *via* Sironj and Bundelkhand, after ejecting Rájah Jai Singh from Málwá, and had plundered the country. Muhammad Khán should collect a large army from the country near Akbarábád, and a subsidy would be allotted. Burhán-ul-Mulk had orders to proceed to Akbarábád and was advancing by daily marches. Fakhr-ud-daula, brother of Khán Daurán Khán,

\* That of the "Sa'adat-i-Jáwed" in Dowson's Elliot, VIII, 342. See also Elliot, VIII, 50, and Supp. Glossary, p. 326. From the *Hadikat-ul-Akálím*, Second Clime, art. Itáwah, we learn that the Wazir had hurried to Delhi, to thwart a combination between Khán Daurán, Burhán-ul-Mulk, and Mubáriz-ul-Mulk.

was also on his way with a strong force. Ráo Badan Singh Ját would soon be at Akbarábád. All these would aid in the protection of the city. Nasrat Yár Khán and Ráo Shiu Dás, the náibs of the Názim (Rajah Jai Singh Sawáe), would also assist. The great object was to defend the subah, to tranquillize the city, and to preserve the name and fame of Hindústán. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk would soon arrive at Gwáliár, and the Bhadauriya Rájah, if freed from anxiety about his home, would also join.

Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe also opened communications with Muhammad Khán, and tried to induce him to quit his retirement. At first Muhammad Khán's only reply was to taunt Jai Singh, pointing out that he held one-third of Málwá, one-fourth of the Delhi subah and the whole of the Akbarábád Nizámat, besides his native country, which produced an income equal to that of a Subah. The Mahrattas in the Jaipur territory pretend to be one in aim and object with the Rájputs and Bundelas. This is only deceit (*filosofí*), who knows where they will stop, not only have they reached Hindústán but they are spread abroad in Bangálá. The Rájah might be quite sure that, whenever they had made safe their position elsewhere, they would throw him over, and demand the very places which they then professed to protect.

By the offer of *jágirs* and money payments, Rájah Jai Singh succeeded in overcoming Muhammad Khán's reluctance to serve again. Before he appeared in the field, however, the Mahrattas, having crossed the Jamna at the ferries opposite Aurúyah and Saráe Ajít Mall in the Etáwah district, had plundered Khánpur, Derapúr, Mangalpur, Sikandrah and Shiuganpur.\* Their collectors had recovered *khandi* from the zamindárs and faujdárs of the Duáb. Other parties were scattered in the country of Gwáliár, Bijipúr† had been surrounded and the inhabitants of Antri‡ had taken refuge in Gwáliár. The latter were suspected of being in league with the invaders. The zamindárs of Raojhá (?) had been defeated.

On the 7th Ramzan, 1148 H (10th Jan. 1736), the Nawáb's troops began to cross the Jamna. Muhammad Khán had fixed the 14th Shawwal for his own advance, but as the Mahrattas were reported to have gone off towards Delhi, the inhabitants of Akbarábád and Ráo Shiu Dás, náib, became frightened. The army of the invaders in Bhadáwar might see their opportunity, and crossing the river might invest the city.

Reports now came in that one force of Mahrattas had advanced beyond Núrábád§ in the direction of Akbarábád, and that another party was near

\* The first is, I suppose, our Cawnpore, the other places are in the Cawnpur district. There is, however, a kasbah Khánpur just south of Aurúyah.

† Lat. 26°, 2'. Long. 77°, 28', fifty-two miles S. W. of Gwáliár.

‡ Twelve miles S. of Gwáliár.

§ Fourteen miles N. W. of Gwáliár.

Antri in the country of Bhadáwar. Accordingly on the 21st Ramzan, 1148 H. (24th Jan. 1736), a division of two thousand horse and two thousand foot, under Zabardast Khán, Rasul Khán and others, was sent to Dholpur to protect the ferries on the Chambal. The zamindárs of the Dandota, Satgír, Ardwar, Túnपुरi and Gujar clans were granted *khila'ts*, and posted from point to point (*nákabandi*) to guard the routes. This task was efficiently performed, although the náib faujdár of Dholpúr had retreated. A party of the enemy posted themselves at Núrábád and came daily to the ferries, but found they were unable to cross. Muhammad Khán exercised similar vigilance in Akbarábád; at length the Mahrattas went back to Bhadáwar, and there rejoined their other army. Gwáliár was held by 'Umr Khán, with two thousand men from Mau under Kále Khán Khaṭak, Sher Khán Warakzai and Ahmad Khán Afridi, added to one thousand men of Gwáliár itself.

The usual complaints now commenced of want of means, and of difficulties about the pay of the troops. Yáqut Khán, Khán Bahadur, was sent home to bring five lakhs of rupees, but after great difficulty he provided 1,20,000 rupees. This was like a drop of water on a fire. Muhammad Khán, though ready and willing, professed to have no money, and for a year had been waiting in Akbarábád, put off from day to day with promises.

Muhammad Khán's efforts were further paralysed by doubts of the policy favoured at Court. He exclaims that he could not find the word to the enigma; while he waited for orders to march on Dholpur, the infidels resorted to Delhi, where they received audience of His Majesty. They were received as friends, and money was bestowed on them. Should he march to Dholpur and fight the enemy, he might be told by the ministers that peace had been concluded, and that he had only thrown matters into confusion.

✓ He reports that Báji Ráo had one hundred thousand horsemen in Bundelkhand, Bhadáwar and Gwáliár. Part of them had gone towards Kálpi intending to plunder Korá. The sons of Chattarsál and Bhagwant (of Gházipúr in the Fathpur district) had agreed to pay them lakhs, and to levy krors of rupees for them in that country; other Hindu Rájahs and zamindárs beyond the Jamna and Chambal had pricked up their ears, and even some parties of Muhammadans from Málwá had entered their service. The Bhadauriya Rájah like the rest had come to terms with the invaders. In no way had Báji Ráo quitted the service of Rájah Sábú, nor had the Mahrattas ceased to harry the Imperial territory. At such a critical moment, the Nawáb could not understand why Burhán-ul-Mulk was sent to his ✓ Subah, and Rájah Abhai Singh of Márwár to his home.

At length Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe wrote to say that, on the 8th Rabi I, 1149 H. (5th July, 1736), Báji Ráo and his son had submitted to the Imperial authority. With Ránújí Sindhia, Mulhár Holkar, Baswant Ráo Punwár, and other companions, he sought an interview with the Rájah at

Dholpur. He gave an agreement under his seal, with sureties, not to act contrary to his word. Báji Ráo left on the 18th of the same month, while Rájah Jai Singh proceeded towards Subah Ajmer, where the Ráthors had raised disturbances. Apparently this was the occasion on which Báji Ráo received the appointment of náib Názim of Málwá.\*

Shortly afterwards, in the same year, the Mahrattas crossed over into the Duáb and plundered Firúzábád, 'Itimádpur and Jalesar. Burhán-ul-Mulk, without waiting for the rest of the Imperial forces, attacked and defeated them near Jalesar. Khán Daurán Khán then advanced from Delhi with a large force, accompanied by Muhammad Khán at the head of twelve thousand men. They met Burhán-ul-Mulk near Mathura early in Zi'l Hajj 1149 H. (March—April, 1737). As they were returning to Delhi the Játs of the village of Mitrol, between Kodál and Palwal, fell on and plundered their baggage. By the Emperor's order Muhammad Khán returned to protect Akbarábád.†

*Muhammad Khán asks for Bengal and Patna, but gets Allahábád.*

Káim Khán was now at Court, and through his influence, the Emperor promised to appoint Muhammad Khán to Patna and Bangálá. To conceal the matter from Mahábat Jang, the then Subahdár of Bengal, no *sanád* was to issue for that Subah, a note in the Emperor's hand-writing being taken instead. Muhammad Sháh was never long of one mind, and he soon began to raise difficulties. Muhammad Khán then proposed that Káim Khán should be made Názim of 'Azimábád-Patna, while he should be made náib of Bengal under the heir-apparent. He offered to remit to Court all the property confiscated by 'Ali Wardi Khán, and to pay regularly ten or fifteen times the revenue forwarded by Sarfaráz Khán,‡ signing any undertaking that might be demanded. Notwithstanding these promises, the negotiation seems to have fallen through.

Allahábád was then asked for, but a formidable rival arose in Burhán-ul-Mulk, who offered a *peshkash* of fifteen lakhs of rupees. Muhammad Khán's claims appear, however, to have had some weight. His conditions were, that he should obtain the Subah, free of all interference, including Jaunpur, Gházipur, Kuhna Saráe, Banáras, Hádah, Mánikpur, Ghorá, Kálinjar etc.; that Korá and Kanauj should be made over to him as dependencies; and that Sarkár Gwáliár should be given to Khizr Khán as Súbah, with Muhammad Khán as Názim. Without entering Korá, he could not bar the way to the sons of Chattarsál and Bhagwant, and if he had no

\* Grant Duff, 234, 235.

† Dowson's Elliot, VIII. 54, 55, 56.

‡ Son of the former Subahdár, Nawáb Shuja'-ud-daula. He had been ousted by 'Ali Wardi Khán Mahábat Jang.

jurisdiction there, his interference would occasion never-ending disputes. Kanaúj, which was in the hands of a stranger, the Bhadauriya Rájah, was his home country, and till he held it he could never feel himself safe while absent in Allahábád. At length the *farmán* of appointment was forwarded by Kamr-uddin Khán Chín 'Itimád-ud-daula, the Wazír, and Muhammad Khán was ordered to attend Court at once with five hundred horse.

It was in the beginning of Rajab 1148 H. (Nov.—Dec. 1735), that Muhammad Khán was restored to the Súbah of Allahábád. A few months afterwards, on the 4th Muharram, 1149 H. (4th May, 1736),\* Sarbuland Khán was restored. Muhammad Khán seems to have obtained afterwards promises of re-instatement, but his claims were postponed to those of Amír Khán 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, who was appointed to Allahábád in the year 1739.† On Amír Khán's assassination in 1159 H. (Jan. 1746 to Jan. 1747),‡ the Súbah passed to 'Abd-ul Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang.§

On relinquishing his government into the hands of Sarbuland Khán, Nawáb Muhammad Khán strongly recommended to his protection Rájah Jaswant Singh, zamindár of Bhadoi|| who when at Court had been made a *Sikhazári*, 2000 horse, with the title of Rájah and the gift of kettle-drums. He was appointed to the charge of the *rahdári* from Banáras to Allahábád, and he performed well the duty of keeping the roads open. Rájah Jai Singh of Maudah had, however, interfered, and had collected much money from Bhadoi. Rájah Jaswant Singh would he hoped be preserved from further oppression.

Muhammad Khán's interest in Rájah Jaswant Singh arose from the fact that the Rájah had given to the Nawáb a daughter in marriage. Jaswant Singh had also taken the field on one occasion in Muhammad Khán's cause. In 1148 H. when Muhammad Khán was re-appointed to Allahábád, Sarbuland Khán wrote secretly from Sháhjahánábád to his son and deputy, Sháh Nawáz Khán, directing him to oppose the entry of the new Subahdár. On the other hand, Jaswant Singh, at the instigation of Muhammad Khán, marched from Bhadoi towards Arail, having with him 2000 horse and 20,000 matchlockmen. He was joined by Lál Bikramájít, son of Jográj Gabilwár, Rájah of Bijipur and Kantit.¶ The allies then prepared to attack Sayyad Muhammad Khán, ruler of Arail. On hearing of this rising, Sháh Nawáz Khán left the fort of Lál Jálwah in parganah Sangror with 1000 horsemen, Shekh Allahyár, author of the *Hadikat-ul-Akálím*, having

\* Both dates are taken from the "Tabsirát-un-Názirín."

† Dow, II, 438, ed. 1803.

‡ Miftáh-ut-tawárikh, p. 489.

§ 'Amád-us-Sa'dat, p. 50.

¶ In the Mirzápur district, on the left bank of the Ganges.

|| Both in the Mirzapur district.

command of the van. Marching all night, they crossed the Ganges at the ferry of Kasondhan.\* Before their arrival, Jaswant Singh attacked Sayyad Muhammad Khán, most of whose men fled; and although he held his ground under a mango tree with a small body, some forty-three in number, of his best troops, his artillery and standard elephant were taken. Shekh Allahyár now arrived, and Sháh Nawáz Khán engaged the enemy on the left. Their horsemen, thinking the day was won, had dismounted, and were seated in the bed of a dry tank. When the Muhammadans approached, the syces ran away, Lál Bikramájít and Jaswant Singh alone succeeded in mounting their horses. The other men tried to escape on foot pursued by Shekh Allahyár's troops. Many of the horses, owing to the uneven ground of the tank, fell and threw their riders. Shekh Dín Muhammad Bilgrámi, hampered by his armour and his iron gauntlets, and the unsteadiness of his horse, was set upon by a group of ten Rajputs, who pulled him off his horse. He succeeded in cutting off the heads of two men, and broke his sword on the third. Of the seven left one tried to wrestle with Dín Muhammad, when Sayyad Muhammad, a retainer of Shekh Allahyár's, rode up and was about to dismount. Dín Muhammad told him not to interfere. Two of the assailants now fled, another tripped and fell, and Dín Muhammad despatched him with his mace. Sayyad Muhammad then wounded the last Rajput, who threw down his sword and begged for his life. This encounter was witnessed by Shekh Allahyár, then fifteen or sixteen years of age, from the back of his elephant. Pursuit was made for three *kos*, till they drew near to the hills of Bijipur. In the morning 1720 dead bodies were counted; on the side of Sháh Nawáz Khán 83 men were wounded and 7 killed.†

#### *Nádir Sháh's Invasion.*

When Nádir Sháh invaded India and defeated the Imperial troops near the plain of February 1739, (1151 H.) Muhammad Sháh, the day before the

When Báji ráw, Muhammad Khán in charge of his women. Muhammad to unite in one confederatic some bitter remark as to his absence from the better order, Muhammad Khán retort from Muhammad Khán. The Th Nawáb returned a favourable rose at Bangash ghát on the Jamna. Many lit, made a great interest in the world— Muhammad Khán. The Emperor invoked a great interest in the world— Muhammad Khán. The Emperor's geon to his housemark which reminds one of rs ill. The messenger went back sháh asked for his friend, on to frail mortality shall trust h's chamberlains (*nashchi*) the Nawáb replied that he was, or but writes in dust, no longer able to excuse mes. At length two of Nádir Sháh's, or but writes in dust, no longer able to excuse Sháh's page (*khawás*) were sent. NBáji Ráo's death joins that his last hour b Muhammad Khán told his compa

its a blow but no wound. 6. Th

left bank of the Ganges, in parganah Kewail. s needle. 8. *Náwak*, this isám, Account to the bow. In this district Sirolí Chm ated for its bows and arrows.

at-ul-Akálím Iklim II, art. Arail, and Iklim III, Muhammad.



had come. Putting on his chain mail-shirt (*zarrah*), his breastplate and back-piece (*bagtar* and *chahár-aina*), his helmet (*khuz*) and gauntlets (*dastyána*), and attaching to his waist his shield, sword and dagger, he started for the audience hall, taking with him his son, Ahmad Khán. Muhammad Khán, being a mere soldier, did not understand a single word of Persian, Turki or Pushtu, while Ahmad Khán understood all three.\* When they arrived, Nádir Sháh and Muhammad Sháh were seated on two chairs in a line. Two hundred Wiláyatis were on the right and two hundred on the left of Nádir Sháh with drawn swords in their hands. The master of the ceremonies ('Arzbeigi) announced Muhammad Khán, stating that he was armed and refused to leave his sword at the door, on the ground that he was a soldier, not a noble, and that a soldier's jewels were his arms. Nádir Sháh directed that he should be admitted armed.† When Muhammad Khán appeared, he first made obeisance to his own king, and then turning to Nádir Sháh presented his dagger by way of offering (*nazar*). Nádir Sháh touched and remitted it. Muhammad Khán then went and stood at the right side of Muhammad Sháh. Nádir Sháh remarked, "Brother Mirza Muhammad Beg, you have three faithful servants, and the rest are traitors; those three are Nasir Khán, Khán Daurán Khán and Muhammad Khán; from these I received no letters, from all the rest I received invitations to invade your country." Muhammad Khán craving leave, remarked that none was so faithless as he; for had he been staunch His Majesty would not have easily come so far; and he regretted that he had not been posted to the van of the army. Nádir Sháh made no reply.‡ After a short interval a *khilát*, more valuable than given to any of his equals, was granted. Putting on the robes, he made his obeisance, but gave no money offering. Nádir Sháh's wazír, thinking this was wrong, asked the reason. Muhammad Khán answered that it was not a soldier's business to give tribute of gold and silver, that he left to amírs and wazírs. Shahábád, only a soldier, and his head was his offering.

Some days after this, Muhammad Khán attended by his son and deputy, two kings were seated as before, guarded by the Wiláyati garrison of Muhammad Nádir Sháh's Persian troops and a small number of M. with him 2000 horse were drawn up outside. With Muhammad was a Shekramájít, son of Jográj very clever but very thin and very short. He was a perfect expert in the art of archery, and possessed arrows of every sort.†

On hearing of this rising, Shah Sangror with

\* Pír Muhammad Kyás is named as the authority for this story. Shahábád, having

† A village close to Bulganj, on the Cawnpur road, 8 miles south of Shahábád.

‡ The following are the names of various kinds of arrows then in use. The cut-taw single arrow costs as much as a gold coin. 2.

*Kohar*—a *us-Sa'dará*, with a head three fingers broad; it makes a

|| In the Mirzápur.

¶ Both in the Mir



Nádir Sháh called out a champion, a great big man, and asked Muhammad Sháh to match him. Muhammad Khán proposed to meet him, but the Shekhzáda offered to go instead. The Nawáb laughed at him, and said he did not want to be turned into the laughing stock of the army. The Shekhzáda would not listen. Meanwhile, the perspiration poured down Muhammad Khán's body from anxiety, and he muttered a prayer to God. Seeing his opponent, the Persian said he would lift him and carry him off on his lance point. The combatants then galloped their horses at each other, and the Persian several times failed to touch the Shekh. At last his lance hitting him penetrated through his armour, and he was lifted from his horse, sticking to the end of the lance like a *naṭ* (tumbler), and he bled a little. Nádir Sháh began to laugh, and the countenances fell of those on the other side. Then wounded as he was, the Shekh let fly an arrow at the horseman's head so that it went through his steel head-piece and his chain-shirt, then entering his horse's body it came out and fell into the ground uninjured. The man stunned sat on his horse for a minute with the lance in his hand. The Shekh, with the lance still sticking into him, called out "Come and remove this, for the man is dead." Nádir Sháh praised the Shekh highly and gave him a *khil'at*. On the 7th Safar, 1152 H. (5th May, 1739), Nádir Sháh left Delhi, taking with him all his plunder.

\* Muhammad Khán's correspondence contains little or no reference to the invasion of Nádir Sháh, possibly because he was present in person at his quarters, and thus had less occasion to write letters. Only once, in writing to Báji Ráo, he declares that when Nádir Sháh attacked Kandahár, the Afghans of Kábul wrote that if Muhammad Khán were appointed they would resist, they only wanted a leader. When he spoke to the Emperor, the plan was at first approved but subsequently rejected.

When Báji Ráo, after the departure of Nádir Sháh, wished the nobles to unite in one confederation to reduce the affairs of the Taimurya line to better order, Muhammad Khán was one of the nobles to whom he wrote. The Nawáb returned a favourable reply, though, as he professed, he had little further interest in the world—" *dunyá nákshe ast bar-áb o ziyáda az siráb nest*"—a remark which reminds one of Bacon's—

"Who then to frail mortality shall trust  
But lins on water, or but writes in dust."

These plans were put an end to by Báji Ráo's death in the year 1740. x

spear. 5. *Nukta*, without head, it inflicts a blow but no wound. 6. *Thúth*. 7. *An-kri-dár*, with a bent head like a saddle-maker's needle. 8. *Náwak*, this is a kind of pipe of steel like a flute (*pángi*) attached to the bow. In this district Sirolí Chand Thok, in parganah Shamsabád East, is celebrated for its bows and arrows.

*Death of Akbar Khán.*

It was about this time, 1152 H. (1739), that Nizám-ul-Mulk and his son, Gházi-ud-din, now at the head of affairs, disgusted Muhammad Khán by non-fulfilment of a promise to confirm him in his government of Alláhábád, which was given to Amír Khán 'Umdat-ul-Mulk.\* Muhammad Khán quitted Court without leave and retired to his estates. Sher Zamán Khán and Abu Samad Khán were sent at the head of a large force, with orders to turn him out of his territory. Nawáb Muhammad Khán, not being in good health himself, sent his elder sons, Akbar Khán and Ahmad Khán, to oppose the invaders. Akbar Khán had ten thousand horse, and Ahmad Khán five hundred horse and one hundred swivel guns carried on camels. The foot soldiers were also very numerous.

The two armies met at Rao-ká-Sikandra in the Aligarh district. Now, Muhammad Khán had instructed his chief-men that on no account were they to allow Akbar Khán to fight on horseback, for being a young man of rash temper, he might ride into the enemy's ranks and be destroyed. The Patháns therefore forced Akbar Khán to mount an elephant. Ahmad Khán's elephant was coming up alongside, when Akbar Khán called out "Keep that elephant back, why are you driving it up beside mine." Akbar Khán was of a very proud nature, and being the next in age, he did not defer even to the eldest son, Káim Khán, thinking that on Muhammad Khán's death he, Akbar Khán, would succeed. Ahmad Khán was vexed by his brother's words, and drove his elephant off to some distance.

The battle then began, both of the nobles sent from Delhi were slain, and the Patháns gained the day. Then Ahmad Khán out of revenge turned his camel swivels in the direction of Akbar Khán, and ordered them to be discharged. The ball from one of the *zambúrak* penetrated Akbar Khán's brain, and he was killed on the spot. They brought the body home, and Nawáb Muhammad Khán mourned much for him, lying for three days on his cushion weeping for him and fasting.

*Muhammad Khan negotiates for Ali Muhammad Khán Rohela.*

In 1153 H. (18th March, 1740—7th March, 1741), Rájah Harnand was sent as Názim to Katahr, with orders to expel 'Ali Muhammad Khán Rohela. In this difficulty the Rohela appealed to the Nawáb to intercede for him, for although Harnand had given his acquittance for the *khariif*, he still showed hostile intentions. The Nawáb wrote to Kamr-ud-din Khán, Wazir, hoping that he would not send his son Mír Mu'in-ud-din Khán, to reinforce Rájah Harnand. 'Ali Muhammad Khán was a loyal subject, who had attended Court every year, and in 1729 when 'Azim-ullah Khán Zabír-ud-daula, the wazir's brother, went against the Sayyads of Bárla, the Rohela joined with his troops and did good service. A man who

\* Dow, II, 433.

performs such services should not be ruined for some little fault, especially at a time when the rebels (the Mahrattas) were very strong. Even if a fault had been committed, let it be forgiven. Káim Khán was also instructed to urge the same objections to the wazír personally. But on the 4th Muharram, 1154 H. (11th March, 1741) letters were received from Káim Khán, stating that the wazír insisted on presenting his son, Mir Mu'in-ud-din to the Emperor, so that he might be appointed to support Rájah Harnand.

Before this, Muhammad Khán had sent Rahmat Khán and Sháh Ikhtiyár to negotiate with Rájah Harnand. Sháh Ikhtiyár came back with a message asking for two trusty men. Mukím Khán and 'Abdullah Khán were sent with him, and they took with them the wazír's letter in original. They reached Budáon. Meanwhile Rahmat Khán had joined the Rájah, and remained in his camp six days. Then he was dismissed, and the Rájah made three or four marches of twenty *kos*, and drew near to the army of 'Ali Muhammad Khán, who had encamped at seven or eight *kos* from Anwala.\*

In this interval Muhammad Khán had advised 'Ali Muhammad Khán not to hold money too dear, but to settle matters. The Nawáb had never seen his troops, no doubt they were efficient. But, by aid from friends, matters might be brought to a happy conclusion. He should, however, strengthen his posts and collect men and material. His men should be called in from all outlying posts to one point. No opponent could carry away the soil, and after he had retired the *thánas* could be restored as before. If the troops were scattered, they could not support each other, and if one party suffered a reverse, all the rest were disheartened. All this had been experienced and proved by Muhammad Khán. But as far as possible, soft words should be used, and money spent to get rid of the difficulty. If in no way it could be settled, even at the cost of a year's income, then an efficient resistance should be made.

The affair ended by the defeat and death of Rájah Harnand.† Muhammad Khán did his best to persuade the wazír that 'Ali Muhammad Khán had not meant to fight, and that the calamity was not his fault. He was still ready to submit.

Nawáb Muhammad Khán's correspondence with 'Ali Muhammad Khán ends with the acknowledgment of a letter, which mentioned the arrival of the Rohelas at Almorah in Kumaon on the 5th Ramzan, 1154, (3rd Nov. 1741). The hillmen had fled to the other side of the Sarjú, while the zamindár of Srinagar and Sirmúr Babat had sent his brother to treat. Snow having fallen, the Rohelas had removed to Rudrpur and would soon be back at Anwala. Muhammad Khán refers to the advice he had given that, the climate being severe and the produce small, an arrangement should be made. The cour-

\* In the Bareli district.

† Life of Hafiz Rahmat Khán, pp. 16, 17.

tiers, he says, looked on a settlement as a victory, and he advised 'Ali Muhammad Khán to report to Court that, to please them, he had left the hills and had returned to Anwala.

*Naráyan Dás plunders Najib Ali Khán's camp.*

Naráyan Dás, an officer of Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe, had been sent to restore order in Bhadáwar. While there, his troops got out of hand from want of pay, and plundered the equipage of Najib 'Ali Khán, an officer in the employ of Kamr-uddin Khán, the wazir, who was collecting in Karhal.\* Nawáb Muhammad Khán, who at the time was faujdár of Shikohábad,\* sent Amr Singh and Sháistah Khán to persuade Naráyan Dás to give up the property. Purdil Khán was despatched with men to aid Najib 'Ali Khán, and Ja'far Khán Bakhshi, who was out in the parganahs, was directed to follow. In addition Mangal Khán was sent. When the latter reached Saráe Ajít Mall, and Ja'far Khán was near Itáwah, Naráyan Dás made off by the fords on the Jamna. They followed and persuaded him to deliver up one elephant, elephant kettle-drums, several swivel guns (*rakhlá*) and cannon, with carts and bullocks. After considerable difficulty, an acquittance was obtained from Najib 'Ali Khán and forwarded to the wazir.

*Story of a Mango.*

I introduce here, as an illustration of manners, a story about a wonderful mango tree in Farrukhábad. One day Muhammad Khán was seated in the back seat of Muhammad Sháh's *hawda* during a hunting-expedition. The Emperor ate a mango half a seer in weight, of very fine taste, good colour and exquisite aroma. He gave the stone to Muhammad Khán, who wrapped it in his handkerchief, and sent it to Káim Khán then at Farrukhábad. Káim Khán came out to meet it with honour as far as Soron†, through which, before the founding of Kásganj,‡ ran the road to Delhi. The mango stone was planted in the Haiyát Bágh, where is Muhammad Khán's tomb. The fruit it yielded when it grew up had no equal in Farrukhábad, though only half as good as the original.

Whenever it began to flower, a company of infantry (*najib*) was stationed round it, and they kept guard over it.§ During the fruit season thirty seers of milk a day were poured over the roots. It stood at the

\* Both in the Manipuri district.

† On the Burhanga, 27 miles N. of Eta and about 60 miles N. W. of Farrukhábad.

‡ Nineteen miles N. of Eta and about 8 miles S. W. of Soron.

§ Similar honours were paid in the time of the late Nawáb of Rámpur to the tree "Samar-bihisht" in a village just east of Thána Bhowan in the Muzaffarnagar district. This tree has an entry in the *khewat* or Proprietary Record all to itself. I think the Nawáb paid Rs. 300 for the tree.

head of Násir Khán's tomb, who had once been Subahdár of Kábul. Nawáb Muzaffar Jang (1771—1796) tried to propagate the tree by budding, but with the greatest difficulty the gardeners obtained one tree, which was put in the 'Ali Bágh, where it was known as the "golah" mango. Nawáb Shaukat Jang (1813—1823) once sent several of the mangoes from the tree in the Haiyát Bágh to Hakím Mahndi 'Ali Khán, chakladar of Muhamdi in Audh, who lived for many years in the Fatehgarh cantonment. Mahndi 'Ali Khán said he had eaten few mangoes equal to them, and he asked for some cuttings. Shaukat Jang gave permission, but from the day the cuttings were taken, the original tree began to decay and in one year it dried up and died.

*Muhammad Khán's death and his character.*

The close of Nawáb Muhammad Khán's career was now at hand. He was more than eighty (lunar) years old when an abscess formed in his neck. The Emperor sent a letter of condolence and one of his private physicians, Alwi Khán. The Hakím's treatment was of no avail, and on the 2nd Zil Ka'd 1156 H. (9th December 1743), Muhammad Khán breathed his last. When Muhammad Sháh heard of his death, he wrote this chronogram—

*Sitún-i-báb-i-mulk-i-Hind uftád.\**

About three hours before his death, the Nawáb, to prove the strength with which God had endowed him, took up his bow and arrow from his bed, and aimed at the roof with such force that the arrow buried itself up to its head in the wood.

He was interred in the Haiyát Bágh, in the village of Nekpur Khúrd, pargana Pahára, half a mile or so west from the Mau gate of the city.† The tomb stands on an elevated platform and is surmounted with a high dome, which can be seen for some miles round. It was built by the Nawáb in his own lifetime. Round it he planted a garden in which was every fruit to be found at Delhi. There were forty wells for irrigation, and the income of twelve villages was spent on it. Roshan Khán, chela, had the care of it. While digging the foundations for the tomb, an iron "gaja"‡ weighing five maunds was found. The workmen proposed to fix it on the top of the dome, but Roshan Khán said he could get five maunds of iron easily enough, and he had another spike made. The iron rod thus disinterred was put down at the gate of the garden, and young men went daily to try their strength by lifting it. In Násir Jang's time (1796—1813) it somehow got

\* Another "Tarikh" is "Dakhl-ul-jinnat wálá."

† Káli Ráo, p. 53.

‡ See Káli Ráo, p. 127, for a description of what is evidently the same *Gaja* as that referred to in the text.



broken. The two pieces, in 1839, still lay near the Mau gate, and the Hindus worshipped them, saying, that it was the head of Bhim Sen's spear.\*

Nawáb Muhammad Khán to the last maintained very plain and soldier-like habits. His manner was not overbearing, he had no pride, and was free from self-glorification. He always wore clothes of the commonest stuff. In his audience hall and in his house the only carpet consisted of rows of common mats, and on these the Patháns and chelas and all persons, high or low, had to be content to sit. The Nawáb sometimes sat on a cushion, sometimes without one. As the Patháns presented themselves, they uttered an "*Auji Nawáb, salám 'alaik'*" then sat down in rows. At meal times five to six hundred Patháns would sit down to the same trays. To each were given two unleavened cakes of half a seer each with a cupful of meat, and a flat dish of *paláo*, or whatever else there was, all receiving an equal share. The same food was placed before the Nawáb. Patháns generally eat *paláo* of cow and buffalo flesh, and this the Nawáb liked. He disliked soft bread. They say his kitchen expenses amounted to five hundred rupees a day.

When any noble from Delhi visited the Nawáb, no change was made, the same mats were spread to sit on, and the same food presented. The visitors were astonished at the contrast between his great wealth and power, and the simplicity of his personal habits. Then, for each day after their arrival, the Nawáb would name some chela to entertain the visitor sumptuously.

Once Nawáb 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Amír Khán, on his way from the East, passed through Farrukhábád with his followers, who were so effeminate in their habits that they applied lamp-black to their eyelids, black powder to their teeth, and red dye to their hands and feet; wearing also finger-rings, silver bracelets and ear-rings. The Nawáb himself adopted the same style. Their camp was pitched in the Lakhola Bágh, planted by Nawáb Káim Khán before his accession.† Káim Khán went to see Amír Khán, with whom he was on familiar terms, having known him at Delhi. Amír Khán proposing a visit to Nawáb Muhammad Khán, Káim Khán said he would inform "Bábá Khán" (his father) that day, and would take him the next day. Accordingly he went from Amethi‡ and told his father. Next morning the *diván-khána* was adorned with a white cloth, and a common pillow was put ready. Then Muhammad Khán sat down with a high cap on, such as then usually worn at Mañ. Before him were a *pán-dán* of painted wood

\* Káli Ráe, p. 127.

† It lies outside the Kádíri gate, east of the city, between it and Fatehgarh cantonment.

‡ Half a mile from the Ganga gate, at the N. E. corner of the city.

and a bell-metal spittoon. Amír Khán arrived and was placed at the Nawáb's side. After a little, the Nawáb taking out a prepared betel-leaf from his wooden box and a bottle of scent from a wooden casket, presented *pán* and scent to the visitor and dismissed him. Nawáb Amír Khán was much amused at this poor display. On the road back he said to Káim Khán, "Though your father is a Báwan Hazári, he looks like a villager, why do you not teach him better?" Káim Khán gave some playful answer.

Meanwhile Muhammad Khán had given orders to his chela, Ja'far Khán, the chief Bakhshi, (who gives his name to the Mohulla Bazarya Ja'far Khán), to provide such an entertainment that his master's name should not be a byword in Delhi. Ja'far Khán got out some thousands of silver vessels, he cut up many thousand rupees' worth of gold brocade, and spread scarlet broad-cloth all over his bágħ. He sent for all the favourite singers, and made ready the most exquisite meats. Nawáb Muhammad Khán sent to tell Nawáb Amír Khán that a feast was ready at Ja'far Khán's house. After dinner, Amír Khán's men proposed making over the silver dishes for safety to the servants of the house, but Ja'far Khán refused them, saying they were the perquisite of the khidmatgárs. The gold brocade was taken away by the singing-women and their men. Amír Khán was now loud in his praise of Muhammad Khán. At his next visit, the Nawáb made him a handsome present, and excused himself for having entertained him so badly, on the ground that he was only a soldier.

Nawáb Muhammad Khán was a great lover of the fair sex. We know that he had twenty-two sons and twenty-two daughters who grew up and were married. For the number of his concubines he was like a second Solomon. He had, they say, seventeen hundred women in the private apartments of his palaces. There were besides nine establishments (*akhá-ra*) of one hundred women each, taken from all classes, Káchi, Chamír, Koli, Rájput, Banya, Báhman, Sayyad, Mughal, Pathán and Shekh. Many had seen their lord's face but once, yet all their life long they received the monthly allowance first fixed. Of the seventeen hundred, some nine hundred had died in the Nawáb's lifetime; their tombs were in the Buland Bágħ\*, where no men were ever buried. Some days after the death of Káim Khán became known, the Bibi Sahiba, Muhammad Khán's widow, like a sensible woman, threw open the doors of the Bará Mahal, sending word to the inmates that they had three days given them, in which they might leave if they liked. Those that stayed would get bread of barley and clothes of *gazi* (the commonest quality of cotton cloth), for neither Muhammad Khán nor Káim Khán was there to provide for them. About four hundred women elected to leave with all their property, and four hundred only remained to eat the Bibi Sahiba's barley bread.

\* Just outside the Mau gate.



*The Chelas.*

Slavery is a part of the Muhammadan legal system, but there must be, I think, few instances, in which it has been carried to the length practised by Muhammad Khán. Slaves were preferred to equals or relations as deputy governors of provinces, slaves led his armies, he even kept a body-guard of slaves.

One of the reasons assigned for this preference is the trouble given by his brother Patháns of Mau. Many of them at one time had farming leases of parganahs. If the Nawáb complained of embezzled revenue, their answer was, that they would fight, but not pay. If one of them was imprisoned as a defaulter, all the other Patháns rose in arms till he was released. For this reason, it is said, some years after his rise to power, the Nawáb remitted large sums to Afghanistan, and induced a colony of the Bangash tribe to emigrate and settle in the city of Farrukhábád. From among them he selected eighteen leaders as Jam'adars. They were petted in every way, the Nawáb looking on them as his own right arm, and to them his daughters were given in marriage. He gave them land for their houses on the side of the city nearest to the Ganges, and the quarter to this day bears the name of Bangashpura.

Another expedient resorted to was to seize the sons of Rájputs and Bráhmans, who were then made into Muhammadans. Some were obtained by consent, some by payment; others were the sons of revenue defaulters, whose sons were seized and made Muhammadans. Thousands of boys were thus obtained and taught the precepts of Islám. From them were selected the leaders of the army, and the collectors of land revenue in the parganahs.

Muhammad Khán had quite a passion for increasing the number of his chelas. All his managers (Amils) and deputies (Súbahdars) had orders to send him all the Hindu boys, whom they could procure between the ages of seven and thirteen. When they grew up, they were placed in his police or army, or were appointed to manage the Nawáb's private affairs. Whenever an 'amil had a fight with a troublesome village or invested it, he seized all the boys he could get, and forwarded them to the Nawáb. Others became Muhammadans of their own accord. In this way, every year one or two hundred boys were made Muhammadans, and by the end of his life the Nawáb had made some four thousand chelas. Many of these were killed in battle in the Nawáb's lifetime, many died without issue, and many were never married. The descendants of the rest still exist, and are distinguished as *Ghazanfar-bachha* (progeny of Ghazanfar), the title of Muhammad Khán having been Ghazanfar Jang. During the Nawáb's lifetime these men were never styled *chelas*, they were always known as *Tift-i-Sirkár* (sons of the State). All places of trust were given to them, the Nawáb's

household was in their charge, and his whole establishment under their orders. For many of them he obtained the title of Nawáb from the Emperor.

Of whatever caste a chela had been, he was married to the daughter of a chela originally of the same caste, a Rájput was given to a Rájput, a Bráhma to a Brahman, and so forth. This plan was followed till the time of Nawáb Ahmad Khán Ghálib Jang (1752—1771). After that time they all got mixed together, so that one caste cannot be distinguished from another. Among the chelas were the sons of powerful Rájahs, who by misfortune had been captured and made Muhammadans. Thus Shamsher Khán “Masjid-wala” is reported to have been a Banáfir Rájput, Sher Dil Khán was a Tomar, Pur Dil Khán a Gaur, Dáúd Khán a Bráhma and so forth.

The Nawáb used to tell his chelas to collect as much money, goods or jewels as possible. In adversity such property could be made of use to him or themselves. But he who built a masonry structure in any village would be at once removed from employment. Nothing was to be built but with sun-dried bricks and mud mortar, and to each chela permission was given to build a single brick room as reception hall. The only exception was in favour of Yáqut Khán, Khán Bahadur, of whom we will speak again presently.\*

A teacher was appointed for the boy chelas, his name was Káli Miyan Sháh. When a boy could read and write, he was taken before the Nawáb, who presented him with one hundred rupees, a shield, and a sword, by way of *khíla't*.

From among the chelas of eighteen to twenty years of age, the Nawáb selected five hundred youths, and trained them as a picked regiment. They had firelocks of Lahore, accoutrements of Sultáni broad-cloth, powder-horns each holding two and a half seer of powder, and each a pouch with one hundred bullets. One day, they were drawn up along the Jamna bank under the fort at Delhi while the Emperor was seated on the fort wall, with Muhammad Khán standing in an attitude of respect beside him; Muhammad Sháh ordered them to fire at some moving object in the river, and was so delighted with the good practice they made, that he asked for a gift of the whole corps. Muhammad Khán made the objection that they were a lot of Bráhmans and Rájputs, who could do nothing but talk a rustic *patois* and use their swords. The Emperor accepted the excuse, and sent one thousand rupees to be distributed.

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The names of the principal chelas, with any facts known about them, will now be given.

\* Only one or two other chelas founded any *ganj*, and the fact will be mentioned under each man's name.

## 1. YÁKUT KHÁN, KHÁN BAHÁDUR.

On the day after the battle, in which Sayyad Abdulla Khán was taken prisoner, 'Azim Khán Bará Khail, a friend of Muhammad Khán's, presented him with a eunuch whom he named Yákut Khán, and he obtained for him from Muhammad Sháh the title of Khán Bahádur. Yákut Khán is said to have held the office of Názir. On his seal were the words—

*Yákut surkh-rú ba-tufail-i-Muhammad ast.*

In his case, the Nawáb removed the prohibition against building or founding towns, saying that as he had no children it did not matter. Seven *ganjes* were founded by Yákut Khán.

1. Kásganj, also sometimes called Yákutganj. It is now the most important town in the Eta district with, in 1872, 15,764 inhabitants. It lies nineteen miles N. of Eta.\*

2. 'Aliganj, in parganah 'Azimnagar of the Eta district, 34 miles E. of Eta, and about 30 miles N. W. of Farrukhábád. The date of the fort is 1143 H. (6th July 1730—25th June 1731), and the mason Muhammad Ádam "Muhammad Kháni" appears to be the same as the man mentioned at p. 278, who built the fort at Farrukhábád.†

3. Kauriyaganj. The only identification I can suggest for this place is the Kauriyaganj in parganah Akrabád of the Aligarh district, 12 miles from Aligarh.‡

4. Khudáganj, on the left bank of the Kálinadi, in parganah Bhojpur of the Farrukhábád district, on the main road to Cawnpur, 17 miles S. E. of Farrukhábád. The ancient name of the village was Sanauli. Yákut Khán, besides the bazár, built a masonry *sarác* with a high gate, and a mosque. The date on the gateway was 1152 H. (30th March 1739—18th March 1740);§ it was removed in 1855-6 to make way for the metalled road to Fatehgarh.

5. Nabiganj. This is a small bazár on the Grand Trunk Road, in the parganah of Kishni Nabiganj in the Mainpuri district. It lies about half way between Bewar and Chibramau.||

6. Yákutganj. This town is in parganah Bhojpur of the Farrukhábád district, about seven miles S. E. of the city of Farrukhábád. Kali Rác

\* Gaz. N. W. P. IV, 152.

† Gaz. N. W. P. IV, 110. The date, 1747 A. D., must be wrong, if the date in the Persian inscription, 1143 H., is correct.

‡ Gaz. N. W. P. II, p. 572.

§ Káli Rác, p. 133.

|| Gaz. N. W. P. IV, 746.

(p. 133) says five villages were absorbed: (1), Jakhá; (2), Jyáuti; (3), Mukarrabpur; (4), Mustafábád *alias* Ganwaganw; (5), part of Nagla Khem. The place used to be called Sarái Núri, from Miyan Núri Sháh, a faqir, or as some say a eunuch, who built it. In Yáqút Khán's time the site had become deserted; he built a masonry *sarái* and changed the name. There is still an old masjid, bearing the following inscription:

*Masjid-i-'ali biná ráhat fízá*  
*Az latáfat Núr Bakhsh-i-Faiz-zá*  
*Sál tárikh-ash Khirad guft andar ín*  
*"Farz adá shud andar án bahr-i-Khudá."*

This gives the year 1086 H. (March 1675—March 1676).

7. Daryáeganj, in parganah 'Azimnagar of the Eta district, on the Aliganj and Patiáli road, 28 miles N. E. of Eta. The remains of a large brick fort built beneath the old bank of the Ganges are still to be seen.\*

The chelas of former days used to say that Miyan Khán Bahádur spent twenty-five lakhs of rupees on these gunges, his house, and the *bághs* he planted. The house in which Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula used to live was built by Khán Bahádur; and he planted the Kálá Bagh, and built in it the Bárahdari where Nawáb Muzaffar Jang (1771—1796) was interred.

YÁQÚT KHÁN lost his life with his master, Káim Khán, in the disastrous battle of November 1748, fought with the Rohelas at Dauri Rasúlpur near Budáon. The tradition is, that his elephant carried off his dead body to 'Aliganj, and that he was buried there. His tomb is in the midst of an enclosure lying at the foot of the fort, surrounded by a low wall of block kunker. At the foot of his tomb is a mound which is, tradition says, the burial-place of his elephant. The tomb with its well-preserved enclosing walls forms, together with the handsome frontage of the ruined tomb on the high mound above, the chief feature of interest in the place.† In the statement, on the page just cited, that Yáqút Khán was originally a Katiya Thákur of Angraiya, I suspect there is some confusion between him and another chela, Bázh Bahádur Khán. At p. 154 of the Gazetteer, we are told Khán Bahádur had no issue, which is probably true, as he was a eunuch. Yet at p. 69 we hear of his son, Bakhtbuland Khán. In Káli Ráo's "*Fatehgarh Náma*", p. 108, line 15, the Kesri Singh Katiya of Angraiya, who became a Muhammadan, is said to have borne the name of Bázh Bahádur Khán, and it is he who was the father of Bakhtbuland Khán, and not Yáqút Khán, Khán Bahádur.

2. DALER KHÁN. We have already given an account of this chela at p. 286. There is a Dalerganj called after him. It lies 9 miles N. W. of Farrukhabád, on the road to Káimganj.

\* Gaz. N. W. P. IV, p. 218.

† Gaz. N. W. P. IV, p. 110.

3. SHAMSHER KHÁN. In 1720-1 he was appointed 'amil of the parganahs of Budáon, Sâhaswán and Mihrábád (see p. 283). At one time he had charge of the parganahs of Musenagar, Bilhor, Akbarpur, Shâhpur and Kanauj, all, except the latter, now in the Cawnpur district. Abdal Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang on his way from Faizábád to Delhi crossed the Ganges at Nánámau ghát in parganah Bilhor. Shamsheer Khán said that Safdar Jang's advanced tents should not be pitched within his jurisdiction, unless compensation were paid for any damage caused to the crops. This order displeased Safdar Jang, and halting, he despatched a camel rider to Farrukhabád with a letter to this effect: *Nawáb námúdar salámat, Shamsheer-i-khud rá dar miyán bakun, wagarna áb na khwáhád mánd.* "Respected Nawáb, greeting! put up your sword (*shamsheer*) in its scabbard, else it will lose its edge." Muhammad Khán ordered Sâhib Râe, his scribe, to write an answer to match. The Munshi wrote thus on the back of the note, *Nawáb námúdar salámat, ín shamsheer mardán dar má'rakah-i-maidán be-khún chashídah ba-miyán na midyad.* "Respected Nawáb, greeting! this sword, till it has tasted blood in battle, never returns to its sheath." Safdar Jang, on receipt of this reply, wished to attack Shamsheer Khán at once. His courtiers dissuaded him, pleading the displeasure of the Emperor, adding that if he won, it would be said he had fought a slave, while if he lost, he would be dishonoured for ever. Accordingly he left the neighbourhood at once, and went on to Delhi. Shamsheer Khán caused the rear guard to be plundered. It is said that the ill-feeling between the rulers of Lakhnau and Muhammad Khán's family commenced from this trivial quarrel. On Shamsheer Khán's seal were the words *Nigahdár, ai Muhammad, áb-i-shamsheer.* He played a principal part in the events following the death of Nawáb Káim Khán; he was one of the five chelas arrested and sent to Delhi, where he was executed in 1750, as will be more particularly related hereafter. His sons were: 1, Hasan 'Ali Khán; 2, Rahm 'Ali Khán; 3, 'Umr 'Ali Khán; 4, Kázim 'Ali Khán; 5, Rasúl 'Ali Khán. There is a Shamsheerganj, called after him, in parganah Bewar of the Mainpuri district.

4. MUKÍM KHÁN. This chela held Ujjain during the time Muhammad Khán was Subah of Málwá. He was one of the five sent in custody to Delhi by Safdar Jang and there executed. The motto of his seal was—*Nuh falak az nám-i-Muhammad Mukím.* He was with the Nawáb from his early days, and the Bibi Sahiba observed no *pardah* to him. His sons were—1, 'Azim Khán, 2, Hasan 'Ali Khán.

5. JA'FAR KHÁN. He was the Nawáb's Bakhshi. His house was near the *Tukya* of Muhammad Zamán Sháh, a faqir brought by Nawáb Ahmad Khán from Delhi; it was afterwards occupied by Nawáb Himmat Bahádur. He was another of the five chelas executed at Delhi. There is a Bazarya Ja'far Khán in the city called after him.



6. ISLÁM KHÁN. One of the five principal chelas executed at Delhi. There is an Islámganj in parganah Bhojpur; and parganah Amritpúr in the Farrukhábád District is also called Islámganj, but whether after this chela or not, I do not know. He had a son named 'Usmán Khán.

7. SARDÁR KHÁN. He, too, was one of the chelas executed at Delhi.

8. DÁUD KHÁN. He is said to have been originally a Bráhmaṇ. He was one of the chelas, with the Nawáb in his younger days, to whom the Bibi Sahiba observed no *pardah*. We have seen him employed to take a rebel Rájah to the Emperor in 1713-14 (see p. 275). In 1720-1 he was appointed 'amil of parganah Shamshábád. He had charge of the collections of Jaunpur and Banáras, when the subah of Allahábád was under the Nawáb, and he acted as náib faujdár of Sárangpur in Málwá. Dáudganj, in parganah Azimnagar of the Eta district, was founded by him.

9. BHÚRE KHÁN. A story told of this man shows the amount of license accorded to these chelas. One day Bhúre Khán, coming into darbár late, could find no place to sit. Kicking away the pillow separating Muhammad Khán and Káim Khán, he sat down between the Nawáb and his son. Káim Khán turned angrily to his father, and said "You have given such freedom to these chelas that they will never respect me." Muhammad Khán replied that he loved them as he did his sons. Káim Khán got up in a rage, and went off to his home at Amethi. Muhammad Khán then scolded Bhúre Khán, saying, that he had lost confidence in him, for if while he was alive they did not respect his sons, who knew what they would do when he was dead. Bhúre Khán putting up his hands, said "May God Almighty grant that I "never see the day when you no longer live." He was the Nawáb's deputy in the Súbah of Allahábád. He was killed in 1728 in the battle against Rájah Chattarsál at Ichauli. (See p. 290.)

10. SA'DAT KHÁN. He was 'amil of Mandeshwar\* in Málwá, south of Nímach, during the time the Nawáb held that subah. His seal bore the words *Be lutf-i-Muhammad Sa'dat na búd*. A grandson, Imám Khán, lived in Shaukat Jang's time (1813—1823) at the gateway of the Khás Mahál, and received an allowance of a rupee a day. Another descendant, Ghairat Khán, was alive in 1839, but so poor that he had not even food to eat. When Muhammad Khán quarrelled with Sa'dat Khán Burhán-ul-Mulk, Subahdar of Audh, he gave his chela, Sa'dat Khán, the ironical title of Burhán-ul-Mulk. The revenues of the Gwáliár country, then under immediate charge of 'Umr Khán Gwáliári, were paid in at Mandeshwar.

11. NEKNÁM KHÁN. He was one of the four chelas to whom the Bibi Sahiba used to appear unveiled. He had the charge of the buildings at Farrukhábád; his masjid and well, fort and *bágh* still existed in 1839;

\* Thornton, 645. In Scindiah's territory and the chief place of a parganah. It lies 350 miles S. W. of Gwáliár and 80 miles N. W. from Ujain.

he also built a mosque at Chibramau near the tomb of Sadr Jahán, the martyr, on the edge of the tank. His motto was, *Haslam az lutf-i-Muham-mad neknám*. We have seen him employed (p. 301) to extricate Káim Khán from the clutches of Sa'dat Khán Burhán-ul-Mulk at Faizábád. In 1720-1 he was appointed Amil of parganah Bhojpur, (see p. 283).

12. JAHÁN KHÁN. He was one of the Bakhshis, and an old chela to whom the Bibi Sahiba kept no *pardah*. He founded Jahárganj in parganah Bhojpur, on the road from Farrukhábád to Chibramau, about 9 miles S. of the former place. His son, Rahmat Khán, who was Bakhshi to Nawáb Ahmad Khán, built the masjid at the Mau gate of the city.

13. KAMÁL KHÁN. He is the founder of Kamálganj on the Cawnpúr road, 9 miles south-east of Farrukhábád. In 1720-1 he had charge of Sipri and Jalaun (see p. 283). He was killed with Nawáb Káim Khán in the battle of Dauri.

14. ROSHAN KHÁN. The Haiyát Bágh and the building of the Nawáb's tomb were under his charge (see p. 337). There was a Roshanganj, named after him, somewhere on the road to Chibramau, but the site is not known.

15. DILÁWAR KHÁN. He had the epithet of the "Janúbi" (the southerner) and was Darogha of the Díwán Khána. He must be the same as the man styled in one place "the Aurangábádi."

16. PURDIL KHÁN. He was a son of the Gaur Rájah of Sirolí (see p. 278). He was Darogha of the camel establishments.

17. FAKHR-UD-DIN KHÁN. He held the office of Bakhshi of the army, and was also styled Fakhr-ud-daula. He played a prominent part on the accession of Muzaffar Jang in 1771, and was náib till his assassination a year afterwards. He is buried in the Bihisht Bágh near the Mau gate, in a separate tomb, a little to the left as you enter the gateway.

18. 'ALÁWAL KHÁN. He was originally Kesri Singh, son of Chattar Singh, a Bamtela Thakur of the village of Baraun, and some of his descendants still exist in that village and Bábarpúr.\* This man is said to have been a bit of a wag. Once Muhammad Khán appointed him 'Amil of some parganah. On starting to take up his duties, 'Aláwal Khán mounted with his face to his horse's tail. The Nawáb called out to ask the scoundrel what he meant by riding like that? His answer was, "I am looking behind me to make quite sure the Nawáb Sahib is not sending off another 'Amil just behind me." The allusion was to the frequent changes of 'Amils, no one being longer than two or three months in one parganah. Dismissals and appointments were constantly occurring. On hearing the above answer, the Nawáb said, "Tell that buffoon that he is appointed for a year."

\* Káli Rác, p. 120.



19. RUSTAM KHÁN. He was killed with Káim Khán in the battle of Dauri (1748).

20. 'ABD-UR RASÚL KHÁN. He was killed in 1728 at the battle of Ichauli, (see p. 290).

21. HÁJI SARFARÁZ KHÁN. He was one of Ahmad Khán's Bakhshis, and he will be mentioned in the Allahábád campaign, and in the retreat to the hills.

22. JÁN NISÁR KHÁN. He held charge of Ujain in Málwá as the deputy of Muḳim Khán. Having incurred the Nawáb's displeasure he was flogged, and being very frail he died at the first stroke.

23. RAHMAT KHÁN. There was a Rahmatganj founded by him, but its site is not known now. He was distinguished as "Sawárahwála," and commanded a cavalry regiment.

24. KARIM KHÁN. He was Darogha of the elephants; his seal bore the inscription *Ba fazl-i-Muhammad Karm námáár.*

25. JOWÁHIR KHÁN. He was Darogha of the stables.

26. SALÁBAT KHÁN. He was the "Mír 'Imárat" or superintendent of buildings.

27. SHAMSHER KHÁN, II. He had charge of the poultry.

28. MAHTÁB KHÁN. Darogha of the kitchen.

29. NÁMÁR KHÁN. He was a Gahilwár Thákur of the village of Chilsara, parganaḥ Shamshábád West, and his descendants still live there. A mosque built by him still stands, and to the west of the village are the foundations of some ganj or fort once belonging to him.

30. NÁMÁR KHÁN, II. 31. Sulaiman Khán. 32. Khushyál Khán. 33. Fulád Khán. 34. Nasír Khán. 35. Sherdil Khán, a converted Tomar Rajput. 36. Náhirdil Khán. 37. Hafízullah Khán. 38. Lutf-ullah Khán. 39. Bakhtbuland Khán. 40. Lál Khán. 41. Mashraf Khán. 42. Mubárik Khán. 43. Najm-ud-din Khán. 44. Ranmast Khán. 45. Bára Khán. 46. Pahár Khán. 47. Naḳḳi Khán.

#### *The Nawáb's territory.*

We do not know precisely how the large territory, of which Muhammad Khán was at his death *de facto* ruler, had been acquired. A grant in *jágir* of the parganaḥs of Shamshábád and Bhojpur in the first year of Muhammad Sháh's reign (1719) may have formed the nucleus; as for the rest

"The good old rule

Sufficeth them, the simple plan,

That they should take, who have the power,

And they should keep who can."

The extent of the Nawáb's dominions was popularly described by the following doggrel verse—

*Miyan do áb o miyan do káf*  
*Shuda hásil in mulk jumla mu'áf*  
*Sharand kasba-i-Kol o Korí hadíd*  
*Ba daryáe Gang o Jaman insaríf.*

There is a certain amount of exaggeration in the east and west boundaries thus given, and the parganahs across the Ganges are ignored. Taking the existing division into districts, one may say roughly that Nawáb Muhammad held the western half of the Cawnpur district, the dividing line being drawn from Bitúr on the Ganges to Musenagar on the Jamna; the whole of the Farrukhábád district; all of the Mainpuri district except perhaps one parganah; the whole of the Eta district, except two small parganahs in the north-west corner; nearly one half of the Budáon district across the Ganges; and one parganah of the Sháhjahánpur district. If the Kauryaganj founded by Khán Bahádur be correctly identified with the town in the 'Aligarh district, then the Nawáb's authority did extend within twelve miles of Kol-'Aligarh. The local tradition states that parganah Márahra in the Eta district was obtained in farm from the Sayyad jagirdárs in 1738,\* but the mode of acquisition was most probably a little less legal than through a farming lease. We know from the Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán† that Muhammad Khán held Budáon, for it was while on an expedition with the Farrukhábád 'Amil against some zamindárs, that Dáud Khán caused Sháh Álam Khán, the father of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, to be assassinated.

The anecdotes already given show that the Nawáb kept a very strict watch upon his agents, moving them frequently and prohibiting them from building permanently. In this way he seems to have kept complete control over his country and his orders were implicitly obeyed. The following notices are gleaned from Sáhib Ráe's collection of the Nawáb's correspondence.

KANAUJ. In the second year of Muhammad Sháh's reign (Feb. 1720 to Jan. 1721) the faujdári of this Sarkár was in the name of the Nawáb's son, Káim Khán. Then, when Rájah Girdhar Bahádur was removed from Allahábád, he begged for a territory near his house as a residence for his dependents. The faujdári of Kanauj was then relinquished to Girdhar Bahádur. After his death it passed from one to another till the Bhadauriya Rájah obtained it. When Muhammad Khán was restored to Allahábád in the year 1148 H., he objected strongly to leaving his home country in the hands of a "hypocritical infidel." The *jágir* was therefore granted to him. The nett income he states at Rs. 8000 a year. The old *jumma* payable to the Imperial Treasury was 35,00,000 of *dám*, but after enhancement it had been raised to one *kror* of *dám*.

\* Gaz. IV, 158, 162.

† See p. 9.

SHÁHPUR. Muhammad Khán held this parganah before he went to Bundelkhand in 1139 H. (Aug. 1726—Aug. 1727). It was then resumed as part of the *khúlśa* or crown-lands and a grant was made for only one harvest. The Nawáb held the parganah, however, for several years, after which it was again resumed. Through the intercession of Khán Daurán Khán, it was on the 10th Ramzán 1145 H. (13th Feb. 1733) granted permanently from the Rabi harvest of 1140 F. (March 1733). This being a border district, some difficulty was caused by defaulters taking refuge in the estates of Rájah Hindu Singh of Chachendi.

ITÁWAH. In the later years of his life Muhammad Khán was faujdár of Itáwah. He was displaced by Ráj Adhiráj Jai Singh Sawáe about 1153 H. (March 1740—March 1741).

JALESAR. Through Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe, a lease in Yákut Khán's name was obtained of Kokaltásh Khán's *jágirs* in this parganah. This produced an objection from Násir-ud-daula Sádát Khán Zu'lfiqár Jang, and the Emperor addressed a *farmán* to Muhammad Khán, dated the 2nd Zi'l Ka'd of the 24th year (30th Dec. 1741). The lease was then relinquished.

SAUJ and ALI-KHERA. The former was the *jágir* of 'Amír-ul-Umrá, Khán Daurán Khán; the latter that of Farrah Khán Bahádur and Muhammad Khán Bahádur.

BARNAH SOHÁR with a revenue of ten lakhs of *dám* was taken on *ijára* or lease by Yákut Khán from the *jágirdar*.

NIDHPUR, AKBARÁBÁD, and SIKANDARPUR are mentioned as in the possession of the Nawáb. In one year the estimated revenue of Akbarábád and Sikandarpur was put at 65,000, or at the outside 70,000 rupees. In 1146 F. (1738-9) there appears to have been a drought.

KOIL and SIKANDRAH are stated to have been in the Nawáb's possession in 1146 F. (1738-9).

SAKÍTH must have been included in the Farrukhábád territory, since Muhammad Khán was called on to furnish an escort for treasure coming from Jinnat-ul-bulád, Bangál. The revenue of Sakíth is stated to have been one lakh of rupees, besides the *jágirs* farmed to the faujdár of Itáwah.

KURÁOLI. Káim Khán received 17 or 18 lakhs of *dám* from this parganah as payment on account of the faujdári of Kanauj.

SHIKOHÁBÁD. This parganah appears to have been held as a dependency on Itáwah, in which Karhal does not appear to have been included.

BHONGA'M and TÁLIGRÁM were in 1726 in the *jágir* of Khán Daurán Khán.

ANWALAH. This parganah was at one time the *jágir* of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk 'Amír Khán.

*Muhammad Khán's wife and children.*

The Nawáb seems to have had but one legal wife, Málaha Bání or Rába'ha Bání, *alias* the Bibi Sáhíba, daughter of Kásim Khán Bangash. She has been often mentioned already, and will be often mentioned again. She had two sons, Káim Khán, the second Nawáb, and Dáim Khán, who died in childhood; also two daughters, Roshan Jahán, wife of Roshan Khán Bangash, and another who died unmarried. She died on the 28th Zi'l Ka'd 1182 H. (5th April 1769), and was buried in a separate tomb in the Bihisht Bágh a little to the south-west of Nawáb Ahmad Khán's mausoleum. There is a handsome masjid in the city built by her, called the *Bibi Sáhíba ki masjid*, and the quarter round it is known by that name. There is also a Muhalla Bibi ganj near the Mau gate.

The unsettled times of the 18th century are reflected in the fact that seven sons of Muhammad Khán were killed in battle; nine died deaths of violence, and only six died a natural death. The names of the sons (whose descendants will be given in an Appendix) are as follows:

1. Káim Khán, succeeded his father as Nawáb (1743—1748) as will be related hereafter. He left no issue.

2. Ahmad Khán, succeeded in 1750 and died in 1771.

3. Muríd Khán. Full brother of Murtazza Khán (No. 4). He was killed with Káim Khán, leaving three sons.

4. Murtazza Khán. He was cut down at the order of Muzaffar Jang, son of Ahmad Khán (No. 2), and he died a prisoner in the Mubárik Maḥal within the fort. He left seven sons.

5. Akbar Khán. He was killed at Sikandra Ráo (see p. 334). He left two sons. They say that the daughter of one of these sons, Khan-Khánán Khán, was betrothed to Sa'dat 'Ali, son of Shuja'-ud-daula, Nawáb Wazir, but Nawáb Ahmad Khán forbade the marriage, unless the Lakhnau family gave a wife for his son, Mahmúd Khán.

6. 'Abd-un-nabi Khán. He was killed with Káim Khán. When 'Abd-un-nabi Khán started for the campaign with Káim Jang, he sneezed as he mounted his elephant and a cat crossed his path. From these evil omens, it followed that Nawáb 'Abd-un-nabi Khán never came back alive. His son, 'Abd-ul-Majíd Khán, from that day took an aversion to the name of sneezing and to cats. If a servant felt inclined to sneeze, he rushed out of the house, nor did any servant ever dare to utter the word "cat." If absolutely necessary it was referred to as a "fish." They also had strict orders never to mention any one's death. If their master were invited to a friend's house on his death, they told him that sugar had been tasted at a certain house, referring to the practice of pouring sugar and water down a dying man's throat. If they had to remind him of the third-day ceremonies, they would say—"To-day there is a great display (*dhum-dhám*)."

Whenever Nawáb 'Abd-ul-Majíd Khán went out, he gave his khánsámán several rupees with instructions to give one to Mayá Rám Baniya, a man who kept a shop at his gate, in order that he might present it as a *nazar* on the Nawáb's mounting, for it was a good omen. He also sent four annas to a gardener for a garland and flowers, to be given as he started. Several rupees were changed into *kauris*, which were divided into two-*paisa* lots. Orders were then given to the khánsámán to warn the troops, as the Nawáb Sáhib was coming and required an escort. Accordingly the khánsámán told all the tenants of the Nawáb's houses that the Nawáb was coming. They were of all castes high and low.

The Nawáb then mounted a horse adorned with silver trappings, a khidmatgár waved a *chaunri*, while some four to eight companions followed on ponies. When the Nawáb reached his gate, Máya Rám Baniya presented the rupee. The *pán*-seller gave a *dona* of *pán*, of which the Nawáb ate some, and gave the rest to the khánsámán. Then the gardener offered the flowers, from which the Nawáb selected one and stuck it in his turban. When he came back, he directed the khánsámán to dismiss the army for that day. On each man present a *taka* in *kauris* was bestowed, and with a *salám* to the Nawáb they went away.

When any of the younger men of the Sáhibzádah families visited 'Abd-ul-Masjíd Khán, it was a favourite joke to tickle their nostrils with a straw and produce an artificial sneeze. They would then ask for pardon. But 'Abd-ul-Masjíd Khán would only get the more angry, and request them never to come near him again. Then the Sáhibzádahs would hold their handkerchiefs to their faces to conceal their smiles.

7. Husain Khán. Executed at Allahábád by orders of Safdar Jang.

8. Fakhr-ud-din Khán. One account says he was killed with Káim Khán, another that he was one of the five sons executed at Allahábád. He left one daughter.

9. Ismá'il Khán. He left four sons. He was one of the five executed at Allahábád.

10. Karím Dád Khán. One of the five executed at Allahábád. He left two sons.

11. Imám Khán. He was named by the Bíbí Sáhiba as Káim Khán's successor, and he was reigning Nawáb for five months and some days. He was arrested and sent to Allahábád, where with Nos. 7, 8, 9 and 10 he was executed in 1750 by orders of Safdar Jang. He left two sons.

12. Khuda Bandah Khán, or in some MSS. Khudáwand Khán. In some lists he is placed fourth, but this seems to have been done to flatter his son, Amín-ud-daula, who as náib was all powerful from 1786 to 1803. Khuda Bandah Khán died at his fort in Delhí on the 9th Zi'l Hajj 1194 H. (7th Dec. 1780). His *jágir*, obtained on his daughter, Umráo Begam's,

marriage to Nawáb Muzaffar Jang, was the pargana of Sakráwa. He left one son.

13. Mansúr 'Ali Khán. He had one daughter.

14. Hádidád Khán. Killed with Káim Khán, leaving no issue.

15. Bahádur Khán. He also was killed with Káim Khán; he left two sons.

16. Shádí Khán. He was killed by a cannon shot at the siege of the Fatehgarh fort by the Mahrattas in April—May 1751. He left no issue.

17. Salábat Khán. He was living in 1802; he had four sons.

18. Manavar Khán. He left six sons.

19. Muḥammad Amín Khán. He gave abuse to some zamindár, who thereupon cut him down with his sword. Miyán 'Alim-ullah Sháh Pírzáda, who lived in Ján 'Ali Khán's masjíd at the gate of the fort, cut down the zamindár. Amín Khán left two sons.

20. 'Atá-ullah Khán. He was shot by mistake by Roshan Khán Bangash Ustarzai, son-in-law of Muhammad Khán, one day that the Nawáb was out tiger-shooting in Bahbalpúr Sawárah.\*

21. 'Azim Khán. He survived the Cession and left ten sons.

22. Sháistah Khán. He also was alive in 1802, he left one son.

In the time of 'Alamgir II. (1754—1759) Nawáb Ahmad Khán attended for two years at Court, and performed his duties as Bakhshi of the empire. While he was away, Sháistah Khán set up an imperial throne in his house and made a *gulál bári* in imitation of the Emperor's audience hall. He ordered his servants to make him obeisance as if he were Emperor. Several thousand rupees were also coined, worth seventeen annas each, with the legend—

*Sikka zad dar bahr o bar az auj máhi tá bamáh*

*Šáni Taimúr o Bábar, Hazrat i Sháistah Sháh.*

Sending one of the rupees, Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula reported all this to Ahmad Khán. Alarmed lest the Emperor might hear of it, he ordered the Bakhshi to take away Sháistah Khán's *jagír*, to seize and destroy all the rupees he could lay hands on, and to imprison the Sáhíbzáda in the fort. It was only after many months that Sháistah Khán was set at liberty.

#### *The daughters of Muhammad Khán.*

It is said that the late Amír Dost Muhammad of Kábul had so

\* The MS. says near Kádírganj, which is in the Etá District near the Ganges, some 45 miles N. W. of Farrukhábád (Gaz. IV, 151) while the place meant is in the Taráí between the Burh Ganga and the Ganges, four or five miles west of Kampil, nine or ten miles from Kádírganj, and some 35 miles N. W. of Farrukhábád. There is good shooting there still, but no tigers.



many sons that he did not know them all by sight, so when he met any well-mounted and well-dressed youth, he would ride up and ask him whether he was his son or not. A somewhat similar anecdote is related of Nawáb Muhammad Khán. One day seeing a married daughter in the women's apartments, he turned to the Bibí Sáhíba and asked what wife (*maḥal*) it was. The Bibí Sáhíba gave him one or two slaps on the back, and replied "What do you mean, she is one of your daughters."

The daughters who grew up and were married were—

1. Bibí Roshan Jahán, the full sister of Káim Khán. She was married to Roshan Khán Bangash Ustarzai, but had no issue. She founded the bazár of Roshanábád, parganah Shamshábád West, on the old road, nine miles north-west of Farrukhabád. There is a small mosque, now rapidly falling into decay, the inscription on which has gone; and a well close by with a stone let into the side on which a few words only can be now deciphered. In 1846 it was read as follows:

*Cha sharín áb-i-cháh-i-Roshanábád.*

Káli Rác (p. 113) gives the date as 1149 H. (1st May 1736—20th April 1737). She is also called the "Shahr kí Bibí," and the villagers still believe in her power of exorcism. She is said to have been buried in Kásim Khán's tomb in the Kásim Bágh at Fatehgarh (see p. 276). She had one full sister who died unmarried, aged twelve or thirteen.

2. Bibí Rahmat-un-nissa. She was married to 'Ináyat 'Ali Khán after the death of his wife, Bibí Fátima, daughter of Himmat Khán and niece of Muhammad Khán. This daughter had no full blood brother. She was the mother of (1) Sultán 'Ali Khán, (2) Rustam 'Ali Khán.

3. Karím-un-nissa. She became the wife of the above 'Ináyat 'Ali Khán after the death of Rahmat-un-nissa (No. 2). She had no full brother. Her sons were (1) Murád 'Ali Khán, (2) 'Azim Khán.

4. (Name unknown) wife of her cousin, Shuja't 'Ali Khán, son of 'Ináyat 'Ali Khán (see above Nos. 2 and 3), by his first wife, Bibí Fátima. This daughter had no full blood brother nor any sons.

5. Bhúrí Khánúm, wife of her cousin, Muhammad 'Ali Khán Bangash, full brother of Shuja't 'Ali Khán (see No. 4). She had no full brother, she was the mother of (1) Ámír 'Ali Khán, (2) Kuṭb 'Ali Khán.

6. Begamá Sáhíba, wife of Irádat 'Ali Khán Bangash, son of Shuja't 'Ali Khán. She had neither full brother nor offspring.

7. Bibí Káfiya, full sister of Isma'il Khán (No. 9), and Sháista Khán (No. 22), and wife of Rustam Khán Bangash. She had no children.

8. (Name unknown) wife of Mustáffa Khán and full sister of No. 7. She had no children.

9. Bibí Daulat Khátun. She married Khudá Dád Khán, Bangash



Ustarzai Karlâni, and was the great-grandmother of Manavar 'Ali Khán, one of the joint authors of the "Laṭṭ-i-Tárikh." The family tree is

Khuda Dád Khán = Daulat Khátun

|  
Sikandar 'Ali Khán

d. 12th Sha'bán 1195 H. (16th July 1781)

|  
Sarfaráz 'Ali Khán

d. 5th Shawwál 1238 H. (15th June 1823)

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|                 |              |              |              |                |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| Manarar A. K.   | Haiyát A. K. | Husain A. K. | Sa'dat A. K. | Shuja't one    |
| b. 1798 d. 1863 |              |              |              | A. K. daughter |

She is said to have been very generous and charitable. It was at her expense that the tomb of her father, Muḥammad Khán, in the Haiyát Bágh was repaired. She became a disciple of 'Atá Karím Sháh of Salon.\* When Nawáb Muzaffar Jang stopped all the family pensions, she went to Delhi, and the Emperor made over to her the income of Bangashghát. On Muzaffar Jang's entreaties she returned, and received in *jáyir* the village of Barna Khúrd, parganah Bhojpúr, 900 *kacha* bigahs in Khandiya, parganah Kampil, and the Tárwála Bagh or Naulakha. When her son Sikandar 'Ali Khán died, she turned *fagír*, wearing only white clothes or in winter a blanket. She was very humble-minded and spent her time in spinning or in praying at her son's tomb. Among her other accomplishments she understood brick-laying and carpenter's work. We hear of her tending the bruises of Káim Khán's widow after the assault on the Amethi fort in 1772-73 (see Part II).

She was excessively fond of her great-grandson, Manavar 'Ali Khán, and never allowed him to be for a moment out of her sight. When he was five years old, she married him to the granddaughter of Sanjar Khán of Rudáin, parganah Kampil, and obtained for him from Nawáb Násir Jang (1796—1813) an allowance of ten rupees a month.

One day she returned to the Bará Mahal from the house she was building in Bangashpura, on the site given her by her father at her marriage. When she got out of her conveyance she at once asked for a drink of water. Her slave girls having conspired to poison her, brought poisoned water in a fresh vessel. She drank and then Manavar 'Ali Khán. The latter vomited at once and so recovered. Daulat Khátun did nothing, as no traces of poison betrayed themselves. At length when the poison showed itself, every remedy was resorted to without effect. In the evening her bed was brought out, and her grandson, Sarfaráz 'Ali Khán, with his own hand gave her some

\* On the Sai about 20 miles S. E. of Rác Bareli in Audh.

medicine, but as her teeth were clenched, it could not be got down her throat. She then expired. The date was the 17th Rabi I. 1224 (2nd May, 1809).

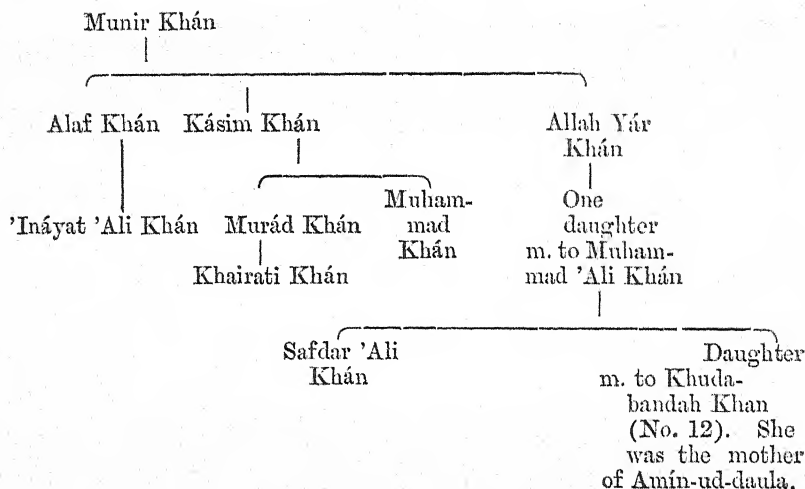
At once Nawáb Násir Jang and Sarfaráz Maḥal came to the dwelling where Daulat Khátun died, placed their own locks on all the doors, and stationed a guard at the gate, any one passing in or out was searched. Next morning Amín-ud-daula (son of Khudábendah Khán No. 12) came, and when she was bathed for interment he noticed that some one must have poisoned his aunt. However, he did nothing, and she was buried within her own house at Bangashpura. Násir Jang then confiscated all the property, and at the suggestion of Sarfaráz Maḥal stopped Manavar 'Ali Khán's allowance. Sarfaráz 'Ali Khán, the deceased's grandson, was then pressed to give a relinquishment on condition of receiving a *zi-hakka* pension; giving way to other's advice, he went and filed a *rúzináma* in the Collector's Office.

Khuda Dád Khán, the husband of Daulat Khátun, quarrelled with his wife because she asked him to pay the usual visits of ceremony to the ruling Nawáb, Ahmad Khán (1750—1771). He left his home and went to the Dakhin, whence he kept up a correspondence by letter but never returned. There, in a city when Patháns dwell called Kirpá Khunḍ or Kirya Khunḍ (?), he married again. His son by that wife married the daughter of Wáhid 'Ali Khán Bangash of the same city, a man of high position. Although Khuda Dád Khán in the war with Holkar and Daulat Rám Sendhia had his shin bone injured by a bullet, he insisted on riding and refused to mount an elephant or take to a *palki*. Daulat Rám to honour him styled him Nawáb Sáhib, but he objected alleging that at Farrukhabád that title was given to slaves. Daulat Rám then addressed him as "Khán Sáhib." Khairáti Khán Bangash, Sher Muhammad Khán, Najíb 'Ali Khán, Nawáb Abd-ul-Karím Khán and Mír Nawáb were serving under Sendhia at that time.

10. Asálat Khátun, wife of Bangash Khán, full sister of 'Aṭá-ullah Khán (No. 20), and mother of Walí Muhammad Khán.

11. (Name unknown), wife of Yúsaf Khán and full sister to Mansúr 'Ali Khán (No. 13). She had no children.

12. Kámila Khánun, the wife of Murád Khán (*Maṣalle*) Bangash, son of the uncle of 'Ináyat 'Ali Khán above-named (husband of Nos. 2 and 3). She had no full brother. She was the mother of Khairáti Khán Bangash. Her husband's family was as follows :



Murád Khán was reputed to be very wealthy. At the battle of Dauri Rasúlpur in Nov. 1748, he received such severe wounds that he fell from his elephant in the battle-field. For three days he lay unnoticed among the corpses. At length a zamindár searching among the dead recognized him. As Murád Khán had once procured his release when kept in custody by Nawáb Muhammad Khán, the man went for a litter and carried the wounded Nawáb to his village, applied some remedies to his wounds and gave him food. When he was better they sent him back to Farrukhabád. Murád Khán had received eighty wounds in different parts of the body, and a sword-cut had so disfigured his nose, that he went by the name of the "Nakatta Pathán" or noseless Pathán. He also had a wound in his throat which had left a hole, and when he ate or drank he had to apply a wax plug.

13. (Name unknown), full sister of Karím Dád Khán (No. 10), and the wife of Khán 'Alam Khán.

14. (Name unknown), full sister of Bahádur Khán (No. 15), and the wife of 'Ali Dád Khán.

15. (Name unknown), full sister of Bahádur Khán (No. 15), and the wife of Sardár Khán.

16. Sáhib Khátun, wife of Johar Khán Bangash. She had no full brother.

17. 'Abida Khánum, daughter of of 'Arifa Khánum, and wife of Hurmat Khán Bangash. She had no full brother.

18. (Name unknown), wife of Bábar Khán.

19. Alif Khátun, wife of Hák-dád Khán Bangash.

20. Ládli Khánum, wife of Muhammad Khán Bangash.

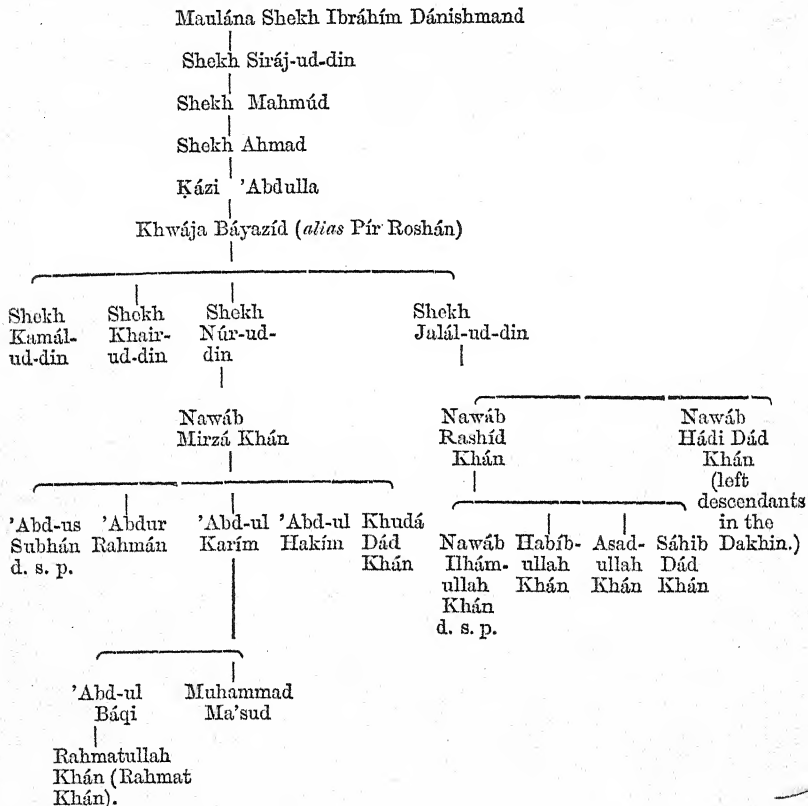
21. Khánúm Sáhíba, full sister of Murtazza Khán (No. 4). She died in youth unmarried.

22. Nanhí Bíbí, wife of Báẓ Khán Bangash.

Note A.

RASHÍD KHÁN AND THE KHÁNZÁDAS.

The few Khánzádas, descendants of Rashíd Khán, now found in a state of poverty in Mau, state the descent of their ancestor as follows:—



Haiyát Khán, Lahor, Kohinúr Press, Sept. 1865, pp. 151, 155—158 and "Tárikh-i-Farishá," Lucknow edition, Vol. I, p. 266). For want of further authorities to refer to, Manzúr Ahmad was unable to identify Rashíd Khán, founder of Mau, with Rashíd Khán, son of the historical Jalála. From the "Maásir-ul-Umrá," however, it is made quite clear that the two men are the same (see in that work under "Rashíd Khán"). I proceed to give an abstract of the Biography from the "Maásir-ul-Umrá" adding from the articles "Allahdád Khán," "Asadullah," "Hádídád Khán" and "Rashíd Khán" in Kewal Rám Agarwálah's "Tazkira-ul-Umrá."

The founder of the Rosháni sect, called in derision the Táríki or the obscure,\* was Shekh Báyzád who was descended in the seventh generation from Siráj-ud-din Anṣári, and was born at Jálandhar one year before Bábar entered India (*i. e.*, in 1527). On growing up he left his birth-place with his mother and went to his father 'Abdullah at Káli Kurm in the hills of Roh. In the year 949 H. (April 1542—April 1543), he became notorious by pretending to do miracles, through which he induced many tribes of the Afgháns to become his disciples. At this time he wrote a book in Pushtu called "Khair-ul-bayán." They say that when it was brought to the Court of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, ruler of Kábul, the learned men there were unable to refute it. When Pir Roshán died he was buried at Tahyapúr (?) in the hills. He left four sons and one daughter. The sons are (1) Shekh 'Umr, (2) Núr-ud-din, whose son Mirzá Khán entered the Imperial service and was killed in the Daulátábád campaign in the Dakhin (most probably in February 1633),† (3) Jamál-ud-din, (4) Jalál-ud-din.

Jalál-ud-din in the year 989 H. (Feb. 1581—Jan. 1582), being then fourteen years of age, attended Akbar when that Emperor was on his return from Kábul. He was graciously received, but for some reason being dissatisfied he returned to his father's disciples among the Warakzais and Afrídís, to whom he was also related. In the 31st year of Akbar's reign (2nd April 1585—22nd March 1586), the Mahmand and Gharba, who lived round Pasháwar and could muster ten thousand horse, were aroused by the oppressions of the subordinates of Sayyad Hámid Bukhári‡ practised on the Tayúldars of that neighbourhood. They placed Jalála (Jalál-ud-din) at their head, attacked and slew Sayyad Hámid and then made Teráh their stronghold. Rájah Mán Singh§ Názim of Kábul advanced on Teráh and dispersed the Afrídís. He then went to 'Alí Masjid and inflicted considerable punishment on Jalála. Shortly after Zain Khán Kokah arrived, having been appointed to super-

\* For notices of Jalála and the Raushánis see Blochmann's "Ain-i-Akbari," Vol. I, pp. 340, 345, 356, 361, 397, 403, 411, 469.

† Elphinstone, p. 508.

‡ Mr. Blochmann's "Ain-i-Akbari," Vol. I, p. 397.

§ 'Ain I, 339.

sede the Rájáh, and he made great efforts to uproot the rebels. In the 32nd year (23rd March 1586—12th March 1587), Jalála was forced to quit Teráh for Bijaur, the head-quarters of the Yúsafzai. Zain Khan\* followed him up and posted 'Isma'il Kuli Khán† and Šádiḡ Muhammad Khán‡ to watch the passes. Jalála managed to elude them and return to Teráh. Šádiḡ Muhammad Khán, however, so troubled the Afridís and Warakzais that they gave up Mullá Ibráhím, who was looked on by Jalála like a father. Jalála losing confidence made off for Túrán. The Afghans seized all his property and made it over to the imperial commander.

In the 37th year (20th March 1591—to 10th March 1592), Jalála returned from Túrán and again raised the standard of revolt. Asaf Khán Ja'far was sent by the Emperor to restore order. He defeated the rebel and captured his family. Asaf Khán made over Jalála's family to one Wahdat 'Ali.

In 1007 H. (25th July 1598—13th July 1599), Jalála took Ghazni but could not maintain his position. In the 45th year, 1007 H. (12th Sept. 1599—2nd Sept. 1600), Jalála who was in company with the Lohánis near Ghazni was surprised and wounded. Murád Beg, with some of Sharíf Khán's troops, pursued and slew him.

The spiritual succession fell to Ahdád, son of Shekh 'Umr, Jalála's brother,§ who had married his uncle, Jalála's, daughter. In the reign of Jahángír (1605—1627) he gave the imperial troops much trouble, sometimes gaining the victory and sometimes being defeated. In 1035 H. (23rd Sept. 1625—11th Sept. 1626), Zafar Khán, son of Khwájá Abúl Hasan, náib of Mirzá Intizám Bakhsh, Subahdar of Kábul, besieged his, Umr's, fort. On the day of assault a bullet struck him and killed him.

He was followed by his son, 'Abd-ul-Kádir, who continued the warfare. At length by the exertions of Sa'id Khán,|| Názim of Kábul, he was induced to submit to the Emperor Sháhjahán, from whom he received the rank of a Hazári. In 1043 H. (28th June 1633—17th June 1634), while employed in Kábul, he lost his life. In the beginning of the 11th year, in 1047 H. (18th Oct. 1637—7th Oct. 1638), Sa'id Khán sent to the Emperor's Court his mother, Bibi Alác (the daughter of Jalála.)¶ with her two sons-in-law (1) Muhammad Zamán, (2) Sáhíb Dád, and (3) Kádir Dád, the son of

\* 'Ain I, 344.

† 'Ain I, 360.

‡ 'Ain I, 355.

§ The Mau tradition is that he was no relation, but usurped the succession.

|| 'Ain I, 466.

¶ A *sanad* dated 15th Zi'l Ka'd of the 12th year, 1048 H. gives *Jamál Khátun* as the name of 'Abd-ul-Kádir's wife.



Muhammad Zamán. The Emperor took pity on them and sent them on to Rashid Khán, who was then in Talingána.

In the same year Karím Dád, the younger son of Jalála, who was leading a wandering life among the Lohánis, was sent for by all the tribes in order to renew the struggle. Sa'id Khán sent Rajah Jagat Singh\* against the Patháns; all the other tribes submitted, except the Lakan and two others with whom Karím Dád had taken refuge. Reduced to extremities, these saw themselves forced to deliver up Karím Dád. By royal order he was sent to the Emperor. Afterwards Jamdat-ul-Mulk Sa'd-ullah Khán married the daughter of Karím Dád, and she bore to him Lutf-ullah Khán and others.

Allahdád, son of Jalál-ud-din, was either one of the children captured in 1591—1592 and made over to Wahdat 'Ali, or else came to Hindústán after his father's death (1599—1600) owing to a quarrel with his brothers. If the second of these two suppositions is correct, the date of 1016 H. (1607) which I have given for the founding of Mau Rashidábád would seem a little too early. The first notice of Sheikh Allahdád is in Jahángír's 11th year (10th July 1615—28th June 1616), when he was made a Hazári with the title of Khán added to his own name. In the 12th year (29th June 1616—18th June 1617), he received the title of Rashid Khán with the rank of two thousand five hundred. In the 14th year (7th June 1618—27th May 1619), he rebelled in Kábul, but in the 15th year (28th May 1619—17th May 1620), his fault was forgiven and he was restored to his dignities. In the 18th year (25th April 1622—14th April 1623), he was under Mahábat Khán and did good service in the Dakhin. In the 1st year of Sháhjahán's reign (4th Feb. 1628—24th Jan. 1629), he came from his *jágirs*, was raised to be a Commander of Three Thousand with 1500 horse, and was appointed to the campaign against Jhujhár Singh Bundela, son of Bír Singh Deo. In the 2nd year (25th June 1629—14th June 1630), he accompanied the Emperor to the Dakhin and in the third year did good service. In the 4th year (5th Jan. 1632—25th Dec. 1632), he was wounded while fighting under 'Azim Khán against 'Adil Sháh and Nizám-ul-Mulk. His brother† and many personal followers were slain in the same battle. In the 5th year (26th Dec. 1632—15th Dec. 1633), Rashid Khán was appointed faujdar of part of the Akbarábád Subah. In the 6th year (16th Dec. 1633—5th Dec. 1634), he went with Sháh Shuja' to the Dakhin. He fought against the Bijipur forces in the 7th year (6th Dec. 1634—25th Nov. 1635); in the 8th year (26th Nov. 1635—15th Nov. 1636), he was attached to Khán Daurán, and in the 9th year he was no-

\* By the "*Tazkira-ul-Umrá*" this would seem to be the son of Rája Basú of Mau in the Núrpur State in the hills. See also Proc. B. A. S., 1872, p. 157.

† Or rather, I should say, his cousin Mirzá Khán son of Núr-ud-din.



ticed for his bravery in capturing a fort. In the 10th year (28th Oct. 1636—17th Oct. 1637), he was appointed Názim of Burhánpúr and raised to be a Chahár Hazári. In the 11th year (18th Oct. 1637—7th Oct. 1638), he was made Faujdár of Sarkár Bijágarh in addition to Burhánpúr. In the 18th year (2nd Aug. 1644—22nd July 1645), he was put in charge of the Súbahs of Talingána. In the 22nd year (20th June 1648—9th June 1649) he died in that country at Nánder.\* He was buried at Mau, a town which he had founded near Shamsábád.†

The governors of the Dakhin never undertook any important enterprise without consulting him. He had a large number of well-armed fighting men in his service, who were very faithful to him and looked on him as their spiritual guide. Mabábat Khán once wrote to the Emperor that Rashíd Khán, having such a powerful following, ought to be recalled from the Dakhin. He and Khán Zamán were friends and of one mind; they ought not, therefore, to be left on the frontier, for if they rebelled it would be difficult to reduce them.

Rashíd Khán so governed his Subah of Burhánpur that high-way robbery and thefts ceased, the bad characters thinking themselves lucky to escape with their lives. The Idgáh of Burhánpúr, till then very small, was enlarged by him. He was learned in history, secretly bigotted in religion; he wrote much poetry which has been approved by good judges. His expenditure on his harem was larger than that of any Amír of his time. In most of his habits and in his way of wielding his sword he followed the customs of Irán.

Two sons of Rashíd Khán are named in history, (1) Asadullah, (2) Ilhámullah (Rashíd Khán). Asadullah, the eldest son, on the death of his father in Sháhjáhan's 22nd year (20th June 1648—9th June 1649), was made a Hazári. In the 24th year (29th May 1651—18th May 1652), he was appointed Thánadár of Chándaur in the Dakhin Súbah, and in the 27th year (25th April 1653—14th April 1654), faujdár of Dabdauri (?) in Sarkár Saukhar (?). In the 28th year (15th April 1654—4th April 1655), he became Faujdár of Ilichpur with a *mansab* of 1500; in this year he died.

Ilhámullah, the second son, on the death of his father in Sháhjáhan's 22nd year, had also been raised in rank. On the death of Asadullah in the 28th year (15th April 1654—4th April 1655), he was appointed Thánadár of Chándaur in succession to his brother. In the 30th year (24th March 1656—13th March 1657), on the death of his uncle Hádidád Khán,

\* A town on the north or left bank of the Godáveri, 145 miles N. of Haidarábád. Thornton, 682.

† In the "Ma'asir-ul-Umrá" *Shamsábád* is quite distinct, and so is *Mau*, but I cannot read the word which follows.

Ilhámullah was selected as having the best claims to succeed him and keep his force together. He was made a commander of 1500 horse. When Aurangzeb left the Dakhin for Hindústán, Ilhámullah accompanied him. After the successful campaign against Jaswant Singh was over (April 1658—Elphinstone 521), he was made a Sih Hazári, three thousand horse, and at the same time his father's title of Rashíd Khán was conferred upon him. After the first campaign against Dará Shikoh, (June 1658), he received a grant of twenty thousand rupees. When Sultán Shujá' had been defeated in January 1659, he was sent under Ma'zum Khán, commander-in-chief, and Prince Muhammad Sultán to the province of Bengal. In the 4th year (25th Jan. 1661—14th Jan. 1662), he took part in the campaign in Koch Bihár and Assam. In the 5th year (15th Jan. 1662—4th Jan. 1663), he was made faujdár of Sarkár Kámrup.\* For a short time he was Subahdár of Orissa. In the 19th year (13th Aug. 1675—1st Aug. 1676), he was removed from Orissa and re-posted to the Dakhin. He acted as faujdár of Nánder for a time. In the 28th year (1684-5) he received a *khilat*.† He was alive in 1097 H. (1686) in 'Alamgir's 29th year and still jágirdár of parganah Shamshebábád, as is shown by the inscription from Saráo Agha† in parganah 'Azimnagar, formerly called Tappah 'Azimnagar, a modern off-shoot from Shamshebábád.‡

Hádi Dád Khán, brother of Rashíd Khán, was in the beginning of Sháhjahán's reign a commander of seven hundred. In the 11th year (18th Oct. 1637—7th Oct. 1638), he was made a Hazári. In the 22nd year (20th June 1648—9th June 1649), he was appointed to the Subah of Talingána in succession to his deceased brother Rashíd Khán, with a rise in rank. In the 24th year (29th May 1651—18th May 1652), he was given the title of Khán to be affixed to his own name with the rank of 2,500. He died in the 30th year (24th March 1656—13th March 1657). He left a number of sons, many of whom attained to *mansabs*.

Another distinguished member of the family was Shekh Núrullah, son of Kádirdád Khán, son of Muhammad Zamán, son-in-law of Ahdád, the nephew of Allahdád Rashíd Khán. In the time of Alamgir he was a commander of 400, and had charge of one of the forts in the Dakhin. During the reign of Bahádur Sháh (1707—1712) he was made a Hazári with his father's title of Kádirdád Khán. He was appointed faujdár of Jamand (?) in the Subah of Khándesh. In Farrukhsiyar's reign (1713—1719) he joined Asaf Jáh Nizám-ul-Mulk, who had been appointed Subahdár of the Dakhin. Núrullah was closely related to Asaf Jáh's mother. He fought bravely in the campaign against Sayyad Diláwar 'Ali Khán and 'Alam 'Ali

\* Námrúp in the MS. of Maasir-ul-Umrá and Tazkira-ul-Umrá.

† Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri, p. 249.

‡ Gaz. N. W. P. IV. 197, and Proc. B. A. S., for 1874, p. 104.

Khán, after which he was rewarded with the rank of Three Thousand, 2000 horse, and the title of Bahádur. In the attack on Mubáriz Khán he commanded the van. When Asaf Jáh had overcome all opposition he obtained for Kádirdád Khán the rank of Panj Hazári, 4000 horse. Kádirdád was assassinated by one of his own servants. As he left no issue, Asaf Jáh out of his *jágirs* granted to his relations the town of Jániganw (?) in the Subah of Aurangábád and the village of Ambárah in Subah Khándesh. These were still in possession of the family when the "Maasir-ul-Umrá" was written.

The Mau tradition alleges that Shamshábád was granted to Mirzáe Khán, while Rashíd Khán and Hádídád Khán received appointments in the Dakhin. At first the Nawáb lived in Shamshábád close to the tomb of Fír Aziz-ullah, and Mau was not founded for two years. The Nawáb's troops who took up their residence in Mau are said to have been 900 Toyah horsemen, Muhammadzai, 600, Warakzai, 500, Dilázák, 400, Ghilzai, 400, Khalíl, 400, Khaṭak, 400, Mataníya, 300, Loháni, 200, Afrídí 200, Bangash, 100, in all, including other tribes, about 15,000 fighting men. Oral tradition asserts that the settlement of Mau was opposed by the Ráthor chiefs of Rámpúr\* and Khemsipúr.† The Muhammadans under 'Abd-us-Samad, *alias* Mirzá Khán, Muhammadzai, Dáud Khán, Yár Khán, Burhán Khán, Toyah, and Mír Khán, Khaṭak, gained a signal victory near Khemsipur. The Rájah of Rámpúr was wounded and taken prisoner.

Nawáb Rashíd Khán's tomb, a plain but substantial domed edifice without any inscription, stands on the high land above the Burh-Ganga or old bed of the Ganges. It was repaired by a former Collector, Mr. Newnham, in 1826.‡ At its side, surrounded by a wall, is the masonry tomb of the Nawáb's wife. The tombs are surrounded by ancient *ásupalú* and *ním* trees. The attendant in charge is an old Khánzádah woman.

At Masíta Khán Khánzádah's *champál*, there lies a flat stone weighing some ten maunds which the popular voice, with, as my informant truly says, some exaggeration, declares was carried every day by the Nawáb to the Ganges to stand on while bathing. The site of the Nawáb's fort is styled the *kot*, Kachis and some Khánzádahs occupy it, two high gates still stand, and there is some brick pavement left. Part of the land is still called Muhalla Gau-khána, and a little of the so-called Bara Bazar still exists; in it is a mosque known as the Jáma' Masjid, without any inscription, which was repaired two years ago by Nizám 'Ali Khán Mataniya of Muhalla Kila', an employé of the Haidarábád State. In Khánpur, close to Shamshábád, there is a Bárahdari built by Mirzá Khán, cousin of the Nawáb, and

\* In parganah Azimnagar of the Eta district. Gaz. IV. 180.

† Seventeen miles from Farrukhábád on the Mainpuri road.

‡ Káli Ráe, p. 114.

at Mau there is a Muhalla called after him "Kot Mirzá Kháni." Nawáb Hádi Dád Khán's tomb is at Nánder on the Godáveri where he died, but there is a village in pargana Shams hábád called after him Hádidád púr. Bibi Raba'h, wife of Ilhámullah Khán, son of Rashíd Khán, built a *saríe* and well with stairs in Mauza Kuber púr, south of Mau and east of Káim ganj; the Afridis knocked the *saríe* down and used the bricks, the Báoli is still there half in ruins. The place near it is called "Sarée Bibí Raba'h" to this day. A separate village, formerly called Sayyad Firúzpur, lying between Mau and Chak Mau-Rashídábád, is known as "Katra Rahmat Khán" (market-place of R. K.) after a great-grandson of Mirzá Khán. His tomb is in Mauza 'Ataipur, east of Mau, a village formerly called Baripur but now named after a Nawáb 'A'atí Khán. Subhán Khán, another chief, resettled Mauza Bhartpur just south of Káim ganj, and called it after himself Subhán púr. In the lands of Hamírpur, the next village west of Mau, is a shrine dedicated to Pír Roshán, the ancestor of the Khánzádahs. The Putwari who pointed it out to me gave the correct pronunciation, with the long á in the name "Roshán."

Mau Rashídábád remained a *jágir* of the descendants of Rashíd Khán till it was resumed by Nawáb Muzaffar Jang (1771—1796). All they now have is a few revenue-free plots, and one of them is glad to be a Head Constable on Rs. 10 a month.

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Note B.

THE BAMTELAS.

There are two origins assigned for the name Bamṭela. The first is, that a Thákur chief when bathing in the Ganges made as was usual a gift of his wife to the officiating Bráhmans, and then purchased her back by a large gift of money. One of the conditions imposed by the Bráhmans was, that her issue should be called Bamṭela. The other story is, that this Rájah having seized a Bráhman woman and made her his concubine, her children by him were called Bamṭelas.

She had three sons (1) Háthi Ráe, whose descendants lived in Bhao-pur, Jasmai, Núr púr, Dháranagar, Sáthanpúr; (2) Nibal Deo, whose descendants held Dhaláwal, Gháranpur, Garhya; (3) Sab Sukh. This Sab Sukh had three sons (1) Bhart Sáh, whose descendants lived in Háthipur, Awájpur, Na'matpúr and Baraun (8 Bís wahs); (2) Nandan Sáh, whose family held Adúli and Rashídpur; (3) Chattar Singh, whose family held Baraun (12 Bís wahs) and Bábarpur. The founders of these families are said to have lived fourteen or fifteen generations ago, but the Awájpur zamindars, when enquiry was made by the Settlement Officer, could not carry back their genealogy more than six generations.

The Bamtelas are not found outside pargana Pahára, and there they are usually divided into the Eight villages and the Fifty-two villages. In the former, which lie west of the city, they are still prominent, especially in Baraun. In nearly every one of the eight villages they still hold the zamindári. Some of them are Musalmáns. In only thirteen of the fifty-two villages can any trace of them be found, many of the villages have been absorbed into the City, and in the others their position is insignificant.

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Note C.

TRADITIONS OF DALEL KHÁN IN BUNDELKHAND.

I am indebted to the kindness of Alan Cadell, Esq., C. S., Settlement Officer of Banda, for a memorandum on Dalel Khán by Pandit Mathura Parshád, Settlement Munsarim, founded on oral traditions derived from an old man Rúp Bráhmaṇ, and other inhabitants of pargana Maudha. Dalel Khán is called the son of Muhammad Khán Bangash. He was given, they say, by his father to Rájah Chattarsál who adopted him, and when he grew up endowed him with the pargana of Sihonda (or Sihonda). Dalel Khán appointed his nephew, Murád Khán, to be thánadar of Sihonda. After a time Harde Sáh, son of Chattarsál, angered Dalel Khán by some deceit he practised, and Dalel Khán prepared for war. The Hindu Rájahs were also afraid that Dalel Khán would in time oust them, for Chattarsál had nursed him to be like a snake in their sleeves. They therefore entered into a league to destroy him, binding themselves by an oath, according to the Shastras, or Ganges water, holding a sword in one hand. Then all the Rájahs marched from Panná, Datiya, and Chirkhári, and assembled at Bándá. Dalel Khán was told that twenty-two Rájahs and thirty chiefs had come with intent to kill him.

Dalel Khán marched from Sihonda and on his way hunted in the forest of Mungas, 14 miles N. E. of Banda. Thence he went by way of Pipronda, about 7 miles west of Mungas, to Alona about six miles north-west of Pipronda, where he encamped on the banks of the river Ken.

The Bundelas advanced to Maudha, about thirteen miles west of Aloná, to Makaránw, Achrela, Bharela, Tandohi, Ingotha, Pipronda, all villages three or four miles to the north-west of Maudha. Jagat Ráj's camp was in Makaránw, while Kírat Ráj went to a distance, to the village of Pothya Buzarg on the Betwá, about sixteen miles north of Maudha in pargana Sumerpur, Hamírpur district. When Kírat Ráj left his camp followers behind, the village which sprung up was named Kíratpur.

One day while out hunting Dalel Khán went from Aloná to Bhulsi, two or three miles off, across the Ken, and thence to Padhori seven miles further on and only four miles east of Maudha. The Musalmáns of Maudha remonstrated with him on his rashness, and advised him to take shelter



in their houses or to return to Sihonda. Dalel Khán rejected their counsel, saying he would be disgraced if he retreated, that he had with him Ibrahim Khán, his brother, 'Ináyat Khán, Haidar Khán, Himmat Khán, Mu'az-ud-dín Khán, Sayyad Hámid 'Ali, Báz Khán, Mukhtár Khán, Rahím Khán, and five hundred other Patháns. Turning to his troops he harangued them, and offered to pay up and discharge all those who held their wives and children dearer than honour. A number of the Patháns then left him. With the rest he marched from Padhori to Maudha.

Now Himmat Khán was Dalel Khán's chief friend, and he usually rode by the Nawáb's side and conversed with him. That day as he rode along half stupified with opium, Dalel Khán as usual addressed his conversation to Himmat Khán, and playing on his name remarked that if Himmat (courage) held firm, they might after all win the day. As no reply came the Nawáb called out, "Brother, are you nodding or have you dropped behind?" Haidar Khán who was at some distance cantered up and answered, "Nawáb Sahib, he was only Himmat Khán at meal time, he left us at Padhori, I am the Himmat Khán for this emergency."

When they reached Korhiya Tál, near the Paráo, Dalel Khán told his men to alight and breakfast. They then mounted and drawing their swords made ready for the attack. The Bundelas meanwhile advanced from Makaránw, and Tandohi. The battle then commenced. The first day fifty Patháns and three hundred Bundelas were killed, the second day one hundred and fifty Patháns and four hundred Bundelas. Haidar Khán pushed his advance as far as Makaránw, and on his way killed five leaders and sixty men. He was killed himself in Makaránw. His tomb exists there near a pond, to the west of the metalled road to Hamírpur, and it is known as Haidar Shahíd. Sayyad Hámid 'Ali was killed to the east of Maudha, and his tomb is some twenty-five or thirty *rassi* to the east of the town; its name is Hámi Shahíd or Hámid Shahíd. Báz Khán's tomb is close to Shekh Chánd Pír's dargáh, and it is called Bájá Sarmúr Shahíd. 'Ináyat Khán's tomb is to the south of the Bánda and Jalálpur road, it is called 'Inái Shahíd.

Dalel Khán was slain himself on the third day. Many others were killed with him. Ibráhím Khán, brother of Dalel Khán, fell at a place now in Maudha but then a jungle. A second Ibráhím Khán was killed near where 'Abd-ul-Karím Kanungo's house now stands. There is a Dargáh known as that of Maudi Shahíd, which no doubt is meant for Muaz-ud-din. There is also a Shahíd's tomb called vaguely Bába Shahíd, which Mr. Kaye, late Collector, put into repair when opening out a new road. There are numerous other tombs in Maudha and its vicinity.

They relate that on the day of his death Dalel Khán drove the Bundelas before him as far as Mowaiya, about four miles south-west of Maudha.

Here one Bundela, urged by despair, struck at him and cut off his left hand ; where the hand fell a tomb was built, which is also called Dalel Sháhíd. It lies to the east of the metalled road to Nyaganw. The Bundelas finally drove Dalel Khán back into Maudha, where he received the cup of martyrdom. His tomb and a *masjid* with well still exist. The date assigned locally for Dalel Khán's death, *viz.*, 1792 S. (1735 A. D.) is fourteen years out, the correct date being May 1721.

The Hindi poets of his time composed many *dohá* (couplets) in praise of Dalel Khán's courage ; such as are still current were collected from the lips of the before-named Rúp Bráhmaṇ, from Shákir Musalmán of Maudha, Sardár Khán of Bhamaura, about three miles to the south-west of Maudha, and others.

1st.—At the time Harde Sáh, Jagat Ráj and Mohan Singh had appointed to take the oath on Ganges water, Mohan Singh went away to Bijánagar, about two miles east of Mahoba. Then Harde Sáh refused to join ; and Jagat Ráj set out alone. The poets on this occasion put the following *dohá* into Chattarsál's mouth—

मोहन माटी लै रहै      हिरदे साह गये रिसाय ।

जगत अकेले लड़त है      वह दुख सहो न जाय ॥

“Mohan has decided not to join, Harde Sáh is angry, Jagat fights alone, but he cannot bear the weight of it.”

2nd.—Chattarsál wrote a long letter to Dalel Khán trying to dissuade him from fighting. The inhabitants of Maudha remember these verses.

हिरदे साह से नहिँ बली      कीरत सेन कपूत ।

बेटा कहिये दलेल से      बंगश वंत सपूत ॥

भाई महम्मद खान ने      डारो मोरी मोद ।

तब से तुम बेटा मेरे      जगत समान सुबोध ॥

मोहन ठारा दै गये      हिरदे रहै लुकाय ।

तुमहँ कन्यावा देऊ      तौ मै जगतै लैऊँ समझाय ॥

“I am not deceived by Harde Sáh, Kirat Sen is a disobedient son ; tell my son Dalel, of Bangash race, a good son, that brother Muhammad Khán made him over to me, since then he is my son, better than all the world ; Mohan has gone off, Harde has concealed himself, let him (Dalel) give ear, and Jagat will then be talked over.”

3rd.—The following answer was sent by Dalel Khán :

तुम राजा महाराज हो      सब राजन मेँ बज्ज ।

अब दलेल कैसे हटै      दोहू दीन की लज्ज ॥

“You are a great king, and the most powerful of all Rájahs, now how can Dalel retreat, it would disgrace both creeds,” *i. e.*, his own and that of his supposed adoptive father Chattarsál.



4th.—Some miscellaneous verses are given which have been handed down.

बहुत जगिरैँ तुम चरीँ खाये घी अरु खाड़ ।  
जो ना दलेले मारिहै तौ घर घर करिहै राड़ ॥

“You occupy great *jágirs*, you eat butter and sugar, if you do not defeat Dalel, he will make widows in many houses.”

5th.—The following call for aid was sent to Harde Sáh.

गाड़ी थाकी मार में बकुलन करी न पेश ।  
अब गाड़ी ढरकाय दे देवल देस हिरदेश ॥

“Our cart has stuck in the clay, make no childish excuses, help us now to shove on the cart, lend aid to your country, O Hirdesh! (Harde Sáh).”

6th.—Harde Sáh's answer was—

सीख मोर मानी नहीँ जगत ढिटाई कोन ।  
तेसे अब मूँड़े परी फेर शरण सम लीन ॥

“He heeded not my counsel, Jagat acted wilfully; now the calamity has fallen on his head, he comes back in submission to me.”

7th.—Verses in praise of Dalel Khán.

गज भर छाती दलेल की बीस बिसे का ज्ञान ।  
जाति में जाति समा गई पाये पद निरवान ॥  
सारी सरन सकेल कै सरन कियो एक ठौर ।  
ज्यो पतंग दीपक जरै या विधि धँखौ दलेल ॥  
डिखी से दलेल खाँ चलेख खड्ग गहि वाँहि ॥  
जगत राज सहराज सौँ मार सौदहा बीच ।  
भई युद्ध पट्टान की बछो रक्त की कीच ॥  
तीन दिवस पट्टान ने करो बड़े घमसान ।  
जगत राज कम्पित भयो होड़ भयो मैदान ॥  
चौथे दिन दो पहर को घेर बुन्देलन लीन ।  
तब दलेल भईमा गिरे खड्गन घाई कीन ॥

“Dalel's chest was a yard wide, he was a perfect soldier; the bright soul has rejoined its essence, he has gained the rank of beatitude; collecting together all his followers, he was killed in the field of battle. Like a lamp burns a moth, so did Dalel rush into the fight. From Delhi came Dalel Khán, with sword in hand, and fought by Maudha town with Jagat Maharáj. The fight was like that of practised wrestlers (*Paṭhán*, a play upon the word *Paṭhán*); the blood flowed and turned the earth into mire. For three days the *Paṭháns* undaunted fought, Jagat trembled and fled from the field. The fourth day at noon the *Bundelas* surrounded him (Dalel Khán); then fell Dalel to the earth, and many swords wounded him.”

8th.—The following verses were taken down as recited by Sardár Khán of Bhamaura village, pargana Maudha :

सेलोतो सिङ्गङ्गद सेँ जिन आनकै खोज कियो लड़ना ।  
गहि तीर कमानहि अरु सेलेङ्ग मुंगस के रमना ॥  
सब जंग के उपर क्रूद परे। जस चील्ह भकोर धरै हिरना ।  
सब राजन के घर साच गयो जब पेल दलेल धँखे परना ॥ १ ॥  
मुंगस छोड़ पठान चले पपरेङ्ग में कीन मुकाम दलेला ।  
खेल शिकार हने सग जाल सुगोलिन मार कियो बधसेला ॥  
पपरेङ्ग हि हँड अलान रुपयो कलषावती के तट कीन भसेला ।  
भुलसी छय आन पँडोरी टिक्यो लड़यो जाय बुन्देलन से बचरेला ॥ २ ॥  
कज्जल से कारे मदमतवारे उठे दतारे हल हिली ।  
महमद का नन्दन उठा जकन्दन यारन बोली अली अली ॥  
चलीं अठनालें आ सतनालें और बड़ी जँजाल चली ।  
बडभाति चले बरहों के देला मर्द दलेला बाजबली ॥ २ ॥

तोपन की तडक कड़क किरवावन की बानन की भूमक बदरी भर लावे है ।  
कढ़ी चपनाल चऊँ और देखो एक बेर मुगल है बुन्दलो एक लहर लगावे है ॥  
लोहे के दरियाव में दरियाव राव दलपत चली मुगलानी तुर्कानी बडकावे है ।  
लीजियो लड़ाई ह्याँ खड्गन की घाई यार मौद्दा के मार बीच खेत भरवावे है ॥ ४ ॥

“They gathered in Sihunda-garh, when came word of the war ; they took up bow and arrow and repaired to the hunting-ground of Mungas. They leapt into the midst of the foe, like the *chitah*\* seizes and shakes a deer. All the Rájahs hesitated, when bold Dalel began to drive his way through them. The Pathán left Mungas, Dalela encamped in Paprenr. He hunted the herds of deer, and his bullet killed many a one. Leaving Paprenr, they camped in Aloná, and lingered on the banks of the Karunáwati. Passing through Bhulsi, they stopped in Pandhori, and fought with the Bundelas in Baharela. Like elephants black as lamp-black, maddened, lifting up their tusks, they drove all before them. Muhammad's son jumped exultingly, his followers shouted 'Ali, 'Ali. Eight-barrelled and seven-barrelled guns were let off, they discharged the great *Tanjáls*. In many ways did he thrust with his spear, did brave Dalela, the mighty. The cannon roared, the swords clashed, the rockets flashed like lightning clouds. They drew their *chapnál*, look at them once ! on every side the Mughal and the Bundelas are mingled in one wave. In the rivers of blood there are numbers of Rájahs and lords of armies. The Mugalánis and Turkánis are disheartened. Hear thus, O friend ! the fighting, the sword wounds, in the battle of Maudha, and how the field was won.”

\* The MS. has *chilh*, a falcon, in place of which I suggest *chitah*.

9th.—Verses in praise of Dalel Khán's horses.

खोदत खुरन धरन देही रकेव पाँथ  
वायु से उड़ाये यही चिनी रंग है ।  
पाले खाँड घी महेला मिर्च मुट्ट पाय  
पुडन पनारी परी यही साते तंग है ॥  
जकरे जंजीरन से पकरे सईस दुई  
सकरै दुरावत करत जोर जंग है ।  
कल्लेदार नुकरे निकन्दर जुरावर ज्ञान  
कंचन से ढारे है वनाये अङ्ग अङ्ग है ॥  
भूल ताश वादली की पाँथ रंग रंग है ।  
हरी पेरी स्याह सेत बैजगी कुरंग है ॥  
चंग से चढ़त जोर जंग से सतेग है ।  
साहब असगर एसे सैद के तुरंग है ॥

“Their hoofs stamp the ground, as soon as the foot touches the stirrup ; they go like the wind, these milk-white steeds. They are fed on *ghi* and sugar, they get a handful of spices. A line is formed in their back, they are so stout ; they are fiery and strong. By strong chains two grooms lead them ; they pull at the chains and plunge and prance. They have arched necks, are white, youthful, strong and young. They are as if formed in moulds out of gold, they are of beautiful shape and form. They have cloths of gold stuff and brocade of every colour, green, yellow, black, white, purple, every colour. They leap and bound, in strength they are elephants. Sahib Asgar, these are the steeds of a great lord.”

10th.—Verses in praise of Dalel Khán obtained from Shákir Muhammad called Láhori.

महमद खान का पूत सपूत दल्लेह करी भिक फोर बुन्देलों से ।  
कढ़ी बड तंग लगी नहिं बंग से कपूर फोर करेजों से ॥  
जुरे दल बीर लड़े बलबीर सुरें न मुहारे फोजों से ।  
गहे किरपान दल्लेह पठान बडो कर फेर सुमू कों से ॥

“Muhammad Khán's son was Dalel, he scattered the Bundelas, many swords were drawn, there was no delay, from bravery their livers burst their clothes. The armies met, they bravely fought. Though pressed hard they would not give way before those hosts. Sword in hand Dalel Pathán went forward, twirling his moustache.”

11th.—The following verses are handed down as Dalel Khán's answer to the Musalmáns of Maudha when they entreated him to turn back.

मैं दलेल खाँ क्या हूँ सोहि बंगश की जान ।  
 मोह पर पंजा सहस्रद शाह का जिनकी यह किर पान ॥ १ ॥  
 ई पठनैते बाँधे एंठे समुख जूझैंगे जंगी ।  
 जानी के बीचा कसससकीचा ईन डरैंगे डरदंगी ॥  
 भागैंगे राजा सब महाराजा देखि हमारी खड्ग नंगी ।  
 कहि मर्द दलेल रन में पैला अली अली कर बजरंगी ॥

“My name is Dalel Khán, how can I retreat, the good name of the Bangash is in my hands, on me is the hand of Muhammad Sháh, whose is this sword. This Pathán honour have I bound fast round me, I will fight face to face. Through their youthful strength the Patháns will enter the hottest of the struggle. They fear not the fray. Rájah and Maharájah will flee at the sight of my bare sword. Said brave Dalel, boldly in the battle-field, call ‘Ali, Ali’ as Hindus call on Hanumán.”

12th.—When Dalel Khán saw his companions fall, he exclaimed :

बैठा मरे मुराद खाँ भाई इब्राहीम ।  
 हामिद हैदर फ़ते खाँ खाय खाय मरे अफीम ॥  
 मरे इनायत खाँ पुन पछिल वान पड़ान ।  
 मेरा जीवन अब बूथा यह कहि गद्दी छपान ॥

“My son Murad Khán is dead and brother Ibráhím ; Hámid, Haidar, Fatte Khán, each ate opium and died. Dead, too, is Ináyat Khán, the powerful Pathán. My life is now worthless ; saying this, he grasped his sword.”

13th.—When Dalel Khán rushed into the midst of the Bundelas, a poet of their side said—

बुन्देल की ऊल्लेख में दलेल भगे जात है ।

“Dalel flees before the waves of the Bundelas.” A Bundela reproved him, and said he should say—

दलेल की ऊल्लेख में बुन्देल भगे जात है ।

“The Bundelas flee before the torrent of Dalel’s attack.”

#### NAWAB KÁIM KHÁN.

On his father’s death in December 1743, Káim Khán the eldest son succeeded without opposition. We have already seen that he was employed in 1721 to avenge the death of Daler Khán ; and in 1729 it was he who collected a force to relieve his father from investment by the Mahrattas at Jaitpúr. During the later years of Muhammad Khan’s life he had lived at Delhi as his father’s representative, and many stories, trivial in themselves and not worth repetition here, are told of the affection shown to him by the

Emperor Muhammad Sháh from whom he obtained the title of "Farzand Bahádur."

He was a very strict Sunni, said the prayers five times daily, observed Friday, and every day wrote out a verse of the *Kura'n*. He is said to have been a great protector of learned men. He was fond of sport of every kind, and at Delhi had the Emperor's permission to shoot in his private preserves. He was also a perfect cavalier, and in those days no one equalled him in the wielding of the lance. He had a riding horse named *Pari* (the Fairy) famed even in the Dakhin. Mounted on it he used to hunt the *Sáras* and ride them down. Many other horsemen attempted it but not one succeeded. He was also clever in other ways. He could found cannon with his own hands; and he could make very good shoes. Thirty to forty years ago shoes of a pattern invented by him called "*Káim-kháni*" were much worn in *Mau* and *Káimganj*. He is said to have ruled over eighty-four *maháls*, but their names are not given.

Once a *Mahratta* in the employ of *Baji Ráo* came all the way from *Púna* to try his skill at the lance with *Káim Khán*. The *Nawáb* gave him a house at *Amethi* and entertained him for six months. In this interval he made enquiries from *Mau Patháns* in service at *Púna*, who wrote back that the man was what he professed. A day was then fixed for the tournament in despite of *Mahmúd Khán Bakhshi's* exhortations. All the *Patháns* were ordered to be ready before sunrise at *Shikárpur*, three or four miles north-west of the city, where in the bed of the *Ganges* was an open space in which the troops were usually exercised. The *Nawáb* mounted his horse *Pari*, and taking the *Mahratta* with him rode out to the plain. There they contended till full noon, but neither had been touched. Now, the *Mahratta* had a handkerchief round his arm, such as they usually tie above their other clothes. The *Nawáb* decided to try and loose this handkerchief with the point of his spear. He touched it repeatedly, but being wet with perspiration the knot had become extremely tight. After some hours, however, the *Nawáb* succeeded in untying it with his lance and carried it off on the point. The *Mahratta* was offered presents which he refused, being a noble in his own country, and he then took his departure for *Púna*.

*Káim Khán's* home was in the fort at *Amethi*, which he had built in his father's lifetime. It lay one mile south-east of the city within the boundary of New *Amethi*, a small town founded by the *Nawáb*, round which there was a ditch and earthen rampart with bastions which can still be traced in parts. The remains of the fort and its site were confiscated after 1857 for the rebellion of the then *Nawáb Rais*, and being put up to auction, were bought by 'Ali Muhammad, a native of *Amethi*, then *tahsildár* of the city. He has used the bricks to build a house of a semi-English fashion and he has planted the ground with fruit trees.

Káim Khán, it was, who planted the large mango grove outside the Kádiri gate, called the Lakhúla Bágh from the number of trees (Lakh = 100,000). It lies within the bounds of Khánpúr, Barhpur, Chándpúr, Museni, and Nekkúpúr Kalán, and still covers some 158 acres. One of his last acts before starting on the Rohilkhand campaign was to order Kamál Khán chela to have the gateways of the Tirpolya Bázár and the bastions of the Káli Burj, just beneath the fort, completed by the time he returned.

In his time on every birthday the fort used to be sumptuously adorned. In the Bíradari and Buland Mahal, canopies of Sultáni broadcloth embroidered in gold used to be set up. There were twelve hundred staves or poles of gold and silver in his store-house. These were used when required to support the broadcloth awnings. A cloth of gold curtain was hung at the Kamáni gate. No one's horse, or *pálki* or elephant was allowed to enter the fort; all, however high in rank, dismounted at the gate.

He had four wives, besides concubines; the wives were (1) Sháh Begam, his first wife, daughter of Káli Khán Bangash and niece of Kásim Khán, (2) Bibi Jowáhir, a Pathán woman, (3) Khás Mahal, a Domni from Chaloli close to Káimganj, (4) Ma'tabar Mahal, a native of Delhi. He left no issue.

No non-Moslem was allowed to touch his women's ornaments; no man was ever employed to sew their clothes; and no physician was ever permitted to feel their pulse. The four wives all lived at the Amethi fort. They had extensive *jágers* in their own names. As they died off, this property passed part to Sarfaráz Mahal, wife of Nawáb Násir Jang (1796—1813), part to Nasrat Jang, younger son of Násir Jang, and part to the ruling Nawáb.

Whenever Sháh Begam came from Amethi to visit her mother-in-law at Farrukhábád the whole of the bázár was closed. The shopkeepers called this "Hartál" or "Hát-tára," from *hát* a shop and *tára* a lock, that is, they had to put locks on their shop doors. The conveyances were four-wheeled bullock carriages, covered with broadcloth from top to bottom. The Begam sat in the middle, and the slave girls round the edge. The cover was tied on with silken cords, and the whole was then locked up. A free woman of great age sat in front, and the driver was an old man. On the road no word was spoken. The eunuchs on horseback cleared the way. The bazar was closed for fear the Begams might overhear an unfit word.

They say Nawáb Muhammad Khán had four chosen friends (1) Man-gal Khán Musenagari, so named from his being a native of the town of Musenagar on the Jamna, which was then within the Nawáb's territory, (2) Ma'zum Khán Daryábádi,\* (3) Khizr Khán Panni,† (4) Shuja't Khán

\* Daryábád is 43 miles E. of Lakhnau.

† Panni is the name of a tribe of Patháns.



Ghilzai, Kádirganjwálá.\* On his death-bed Muhammad Khán said to his son that he must look on these four as his true friends. If there was war he should fight by the advice of Mangal Khán, who had been in every fight from his childhood; if an army had to be raised, he should do it through Shuja't Khán, a chief from Afghanistan; if revenue had to be collected, he should employ Khizr Khán Panmi; if a negotiator were required at the imperial court, he should send Ma'zum Khán who had great experience there. All four of these men were killed in the battle of Dauri when Káim Khán lost his own life.

We shall see how little heed was paid to these dying injunctions. The new Nawáb appears to have placed himself entirely in the hands of Mahmúd Khán Afridi, a resident of Amethi, whom he appointed to be his Bakhshi. His brothers and relations, Yusúf Khán, Mu'azzam Khán, 'Azam Khán, Sa'dat Khán, and others had several thousands of Afridis under their standard, and seem to have formed a powerful body in the state. Mahmúd Khán's kettle-drums were beaten at Kanauj, and he had complete authority over a territory paying a very large amount of revenue. He had one son, Shádi Khán, who was thrown from his horse the fourth day after his marriage, his foot caught and he was dragged and killed. In 1839 the arches of Mahmúd Khán's audience hall in Amethi were standing in a dilapidated state. They are not in existence now, and the family seems to have entirely disappeared.

*Rohilkhand affairs.*

Kaṭahr or Rohilkhand had gradually come into possession of 'Ali Muhammad Khán Rohela, and he paid no revenue to the imperial exchequer. Once Muhammad Sháh sent his Diwán, Harnand, with an army to recover 'Ali Muhammad Khán's country. He got as far as Bangarh† and opened his batteries. 'Ali Muhammad Khán came out and defeated him, so that the imperial army fled to Delhi.‡ Muhammad Sháh was very angry and a second time, after an interval, he prepared an army, which he put under Khwájah Aṣli Sáhib. He too opened batteries against Bangarh, to be repulsed like Harnand with the loss of a number of men on the Imperial side.

A third time Muhammad Sháh despatched all his forces under Kamrud-din Wazir. Now, Kamrud-din, who was a wary man, reflected that if he went he should meet the same fate as the others, the same army having already fled twice. He would be forced to flee or would get killed, in either

\* Gaz. N. W. P. IV. 74, 151. Kádirganj is in parganah Nidhpur, Tahsil 'Ali-ganj, Eta district, 32 miles N. E. of Eta. Shuja't Khán was killed with Káim Khán at Dauri, as we shall see further on.

† In the Budáon district, 14 miles N. E. of Budáon. Misprinted *Bangash* in Elliot, VIII, 116 and 350.

‡ Life of H. E. K., pp. 16 to 18.



case his Wazárat would be gone. A defeated Wazir was always dismissed. The Wazir therefore persuaded the Emperor to march in person to the attack of Bangarh. Káim Khán joined the imperial army with his troops. This was in 1158 H. (Jan. 1745—Jan. 1746.)\*

For three stages the army came to the same river and drank its waters, so the Emperor gave it the name of the "faithful friend" (Yár-i-wafadár); it flows below Auseth. At length the army reached Bangarh and proceeded to invest it. Mirzá Muḳim 'Abd-ul-Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang commanded the vanguard. One night the Patháns made a night attack and surprised Safdar Jang's battery, many of his men being killed. The Rohelas returned in safety to Bangarh. Their fort was surrounded with such a thick plantation of bamboos that a cannon ball could not penetrate it. The firing went on for several days, till at last the Rohelas advised 'Ali Muhammad Khán to make peace, for to him who fights his sovereign, his wife becomes unlawful. 'Ali Muhammad Khán was to be introduced to the presence through Safdar Jang, the negotiations being conducted by his Diwán Naval Ráe.

Káim Khán's troops lay on Safdar Jang's right hand. One day 'Ali Muhammad Khán was on his way to Safdar Jang followed by twelve thousand mail-clad Patháns. As he passed his eye fell on Káim Khán's tents, and he asked whose camp it was. They told him that it was Káim Khán's. Then his principal men said, "Why let the credit of the peace be gained by this Mughal and his Diwán, Naval Ráe, there is your clansman, Káim Khán, ask him to introduce you." 'Ali Muhammad Khán agreed to the proposal and went to Káim Khán, who received him most cordially. When Safdar Jang, who had been kept waiting, heard this he was much vexed, and for the rest of his life he bore a grudge to Káim Khán. Then Káim Khán tied 'Ali Muhammad Khán's hands together with his own handkerchief, and took him to the presence, where his *nazar* was accepted. The Emperor forgave him, invested him with a robe of honour, and appointed him to the Súbah of Sarhind, to the west of the Jamna. The Emperor and all the nobles then returned to Delhi.†

In the year that Muhammad Sháh died (1748) 'Ali Muhammad Khán left Sarhind and came back to Kāṭahr. He died shortly afterwards on the 3rd Shawwal 1161 H. (14th Sept. 1748), leaving three sons 'Abdullah Khán, Faizullah Khán and Sa'dullah Khán.‡

\* Scott's *Farishta* II, 218. The Life of H. R. K. p. 20, gives 1155 H. which would be before the death of Muhammad Khán, although in the same passage Káim Khán is spoken of as the reigning Nawáb. The Persian text mentions the 27th year, which fell in 1157 and 1158 H.

† The author of the *Hadikat-ul-Akálím* who was in Naval Ráe's army, confirms the fact of 'Ali Muhammad Khán's presentation through Káim Khán.

‡ Life of H. R. K. pp. 20 to 28.

*Accession of Ahmad Sháh.*

Muhammad Sháh died in 1161 H. and on the 2nd Jamadí I. of that year (19th April 1748), was succeeded by his son Ahmad Sháh. Soon after, Safdar Jang was appointed wazír in place of 'Itimád-ud-daula, Kamr-ud-dín Khán, killed in the fighting against Ahmad Sháh Durrání. Now Safdar Jang, who was a deadly enemy of the Bangash family, caused a *farmán* to be sent calling Káim Khán to court. Káim Khán in his reply told the Emperor not to place reliance on Safdar Jang, who was his, Káim Khán's, hereditary enemy. The Emperor and the Wazír were enraged. The Wazír laid plans of revenge in consultation with Jáwed Khán. Accordingly a *farmán* was prepared telling Káim Khán that an important work was confided to him, that many of the Maháls of Bareli and Murádábád, recovered with his aid in the late Emperor's time, had again been usurped by Sa'dullah Khán, son of 'Ali Muhammad Khán Rohela. This territory was therefore made over to him, Káim Khán, with orders to march and occupy it. This *farmán* was sent by a relation of the Wazír's, Sher Jang, son of Sayádat Khán, the elder brother of the late Burhán-ul-Mulk Sa'dat Khán.\* On the 4th Shawwal 1161 H. (16th Sept. 1748), the messenger was within one or two *kos* of Farrukhábád, and bearing of his approach Nawáb Káim Khán caused a *Bári* to be erected near the 'Idgáh. Then he proceeded in state to the spot surrounded by nobles on elephants. First the *farmán* was read, then making his obeisance, the Nawáb put on the accompanying dress of investiture. With kettle-drums beating he returned to the fort, where the chief men, money-lenders, and officials presented gifts of money, and offered their congratulations.

The principal leaders were then sent for to be consulted. Chief among them was Mahmúd Khán Afrídi, the Bakhshi, with his brothers. These all voted for immediate war, but the Nawáb seems to have been reluctant to attack his fellow Patháns. Shuja't Khán Ghilzai, who had formerly exchanged turbans with the late 'Ali Muhammad Khán Rohela, Yákut Khán Khán Bahádur, Shamsheer Khán, Mukím Khán, Islám Khán, Kamál Khán and Sardár Khán, chelas, represented to the Nawáb that the Rohelas were not his enemies, and if some one was sent across the Ganges, Sa'dullah Khán might be persuaded to attend. As a compromise Ma'zúm Khán, brother of Mahmúd Khán Bakhshi, was despatched with a small retinue to Anwalaht† with three robes of investiture for the three sons of 'Ali Muhammad Khán. His orders were to invest them with the succession, but as usual to consi-

\* For the name see '*Amad-us-Sa'dat*', p. 44, line 15, where a doubt is suggested, but the despatch of some *farmán* is proved by the statements of Hisán-ud-dín, an eyewitness.

† In the Bareli district, twenty-one miles S. W. of Bareli.

cate to the Emperor's use all the moveable property. If any difficulty was made, the Nawáb would march in person. It is suggested that the three sons had, before Ma'zum Khán's arrival, accepted investiture at the hand of a messenger sent direct by the Wazír. However that may be, Ma'zum Khán's mission failed, and next day he set out for Farrukhábád.

When Ma'zum Khán reported his want of success, Mahmúd Khán declared that by the return of the *khilats*, a disgrace had been inflicted, which could only be wiped out by an immediate march upon Anwalah. For many days the matter was discussed with Shuja't Khán Ghilzai and the chelas. Shuja't Khán still wished to avoid hostilities. But Mahmúd Khán, thirsting for territory and plunder, charged Shuja't Khán with acting the go-between in favour of the other side; alluding to the fact that he and 'Ali Muhammad Khán had exchanged turbans.\* Stung by this insult, Shuja't Khán exclaimed, "In the name of God the Great, the Com-  
"passionate, bring out the flag and I shall be the first in the fray." That day the coffers of the treasure were unsealed, the flag set up, and the artillery brought out.

Meanwhile orders had been issued offering service to noted leaders of mercenaries and to neighbouring zamindárs, such as Rájah Kusal Singh of Rúrú,† Rájah Hindu Singh of Chachendi,‡ and the Rájah of Shiú-

\* The "Gulistán-i-Rahmat" tells us that after 'Ali Muhammad Khán was captured and taken to Delhi, Háfiz Rahmat Khán and his relations for six months sought a shelter with Shuja't Khán Ghilzai at Kádirganj.

† Rúrú, in parganah Bidhúna, lies some thirty miles east of the town of Etáwah (Gaz. IV. 469). It was the chief place of a taluka belonging to a family of Sengar Thákurs, whose head has always borne the title of Rájah (id. IV. 299). The story goes that when Kusal Singh reached home, his mother asked him for news of the battle-field, and out of affection began to sham-poo him. When he told her that "Bhai Káim (brother Káim) was slain," she exclaimed that he was no son of hers, and could never have been in the fight. When the Rájah had bathed, he went to the cooking-place to eat his food. Then the Ráni called to the slave girl *Li cheri, kabardár rasoi men lohá na ján páwe, Rájah lohá se bahut darat hai*. The story concludes dramatically by saying the Rájah then and there committed suicide, by swallowing the diamond out of his ring. But the sober truth seems to be that he lived for many years, and died about 1786 A. D. (Gaz. IV. 299).

‡ Chachendi (or Sachendi) lies in parganah Jájmau of the Cawnpur district, fourteen miles south-west of Cawnpur, on the Kálpi road. From a manuscript kindly lent me by Mr. F. N. Wright, C. S. (through the good offices of Mr. Atkinson, C. S.) I learn that Hindú Singh, son of Har Singh Deo, son of Kharakjít Deo, was a Chándel Thákur of Bihári on the banks of the Ganges. After a quarrel with Rájah Indarjít of Shiúrájpur, he left his home, and took service with the Ráo of Sapihi in parganah Jájmau, a minor branch of the Shiúrájpur house. After a time Hindú Singh set up on his own account, raised an army, built forts at Bihnor and Chachendi, and having acquired a large territory took the title of Rájah. He was contemporary with Rájahs Mándhátá and Hindúpat of Shiúrájpur.

ájpur,\* In answer to the appeal they joined Káim Khán with some twenty thousand men. Several Mahratta leaders, then Názims of Kálpi, were also entertained and brought to Farrukhábád by Ja'far Khán, chela, Názim of parganah Akbarpur.† Sheikh Farhatullah of Lakhnau, out of enmity to Sa'dat Khán and Safdar Jang, also joined with his force.

The Rohelas were much dismayed at the prospect of attack. To avert it if possible, they drew up a petition and sent it with the veil of 'Ali Muhammad Khán's widow by the hand of Sayyad Ma'sum.‡ Their petition was to this effect: "When the father of this orphan, *i. e.*, Sa'dullah Khán, died, he relied on none but God and you; if you wish to take this territory, be it so; send here Shuja't Khan and Shamsheer Khán and Khán Bahádur, we will accompany them to your presence; in exchange for our father's lands, we will conquer by our swords some of the country held by Safdar Jang further to the east." When the holy man came before the Nawáb in open darbár, he threw down the wrapper of Sa'dullah Khán's mother at the Nawáb's feet. Then he held aloft a Kura'n and said, "O Nawáb! head of this clan, by this holy book, by regard for this helpless *faqir*, and the unprotected owner of this veil, I adjure you to have mercy on this race and slay not the defenceless, for the Book says 'Peace is a good work both to saints and the Prophet', accept then my prayer."

Having heard the Sayyad's words, the Nawáb turned towards Mahmúd Khán Bakhshi, and to him confided the whole discussion. This man at heart wished nought but harm and dissension. He replied "You are a Sayyad and a Pírzáda, what know you of worldly affairs, why do you interfere?" Several remarks to the same effect having passed, the Sayyad saw that no favourable impression had been produced. Repeating the denunciations of God and his prophet against the proud-minded, he told all those then present that the displeasure of God and the Prophet would fall upon them. He then took his way back to the town of Anwalah, where he reported to the Rohelas and warned them to prepare at once for war. Accordingly, the Rohela leaders at the head of some twenty-five thousand men§ set up their tents in the groves near Dauri Rasúlpúr, not far from the town of Budáon, and there prayed night and day to God.

\* On the Grand Trunk Road in the Cawnpur district, some twenty-one miles north west of Cawnpur. I supposed this Gangá Singh to be the same as the one mentioned with the other Rájahs afterwards, but he does not appear in Mr. Wright's MS. list. The Shiúrájpur Rájahs were Chándels, and the Ráj was founded by Shiú Ráj Deo, who is said to have migrated from Kanaúj about 1336 A. D.

† Now in the Cawnpur district.

‡ The Life of H. R. K. says Sayyad Ahmad, *alias* Sháhji Miyán, was sent, and the 'Amád-us-Sa'dat, p. 44, tells us he was Sayyad Ma'zum's father.

§ 'Amád-us-Sa'dat, p. 45, says 40,000 foot and 7000 horse.

Káim Khán and Mahmúd Khán Bakhshi now determined to march. They had fifty thousand horse and foot paid direct by the State, besides the contingents of two hundred brothers, dependents and chiefs of the Bangash clan, all provided with elephants, and each vieing with the other in the completeness of his preparations. These served at their own expense. There were further the contingents of the Rájahs already mentioned. Nawáb Ahmad Khán, too, who on account of differences with his elder brother caused by Mahmúd Khán Bukhshi, had lived for two years at Delhi, hearing of the intended campaign, took leave of the Emperor on some pretext, and by rapid marches joined his brother's army. There were two hundred large cannon, besides swivel guns, and *chúdar*, and camel-guns attached to the howdahs of the elephants, as used by Europeans,\* with abundance of lead and powder.

The army marched on the 2nd Zi'l Hajj 1161,† (12th Nov. 1748), and by stages reached the Ganges at Kádirganj, about forty-three miles north-west of Farrukhábád, where it crossed by a bridge of boats into the Budáon district. Shamsheer Khán and Khán Bahádúr were sent on in advance, and cutting a way quickly past Auseth and other villages, they prepared the Nawáb's encampment at the edge of the water. Daily skirmishing parties, armed with bows and arrows or muskets, were sent out from the Nawab's army. Meanwhile the angel of death had visited the camp of Káim Khán, fear and destruction never left it, all whether old or young were depressed and agitated. The whole of the night of the 11th Zi'l Hajj (21st November 1748) they wore out on their prayer-carpets interceding for a favourable answer to their prayers.

On the other side the Rohelas, having given up all hope of escape, had begun to form an entrenchment round their camp, close to the village of

\* Or "under charge of a European," *Mata'na-i-farangi*.

† There seems some conflict as to the correct year of Káim Khán's death. In the MS. of Hisám-ud-din, the 3rd year (1163-4 H.) has been written first, then crossed out, and the figure 1 substituted. His poetical *tárikhs* yield 1161, 1162, and 1163, H. The only other contemporary authority I know for 1162 H. is the *Tabárat-un-Názirín*, from which probably the author of the *Miftáh*, p. 497, copied that year. The *Fatehgarh Náma*, a modern work has the same year. On the other hand, the *Khizána 'Amirah*, the *Siyar' ul-Muta'kharin* and the *Tárikh-i-Muzaffari* all agree in naming Ahmad Sháh's first year (1161 H.) The Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Wali-ullah, the *Lauh-i-Tárikh*, and Dow, all follow the above and fix the year 1161 H. The *Ma'asir-ul-Umra*, without naming the year, leads one to infer that it was 1161 H., while the *Akhbár-i-Muhabbat* in one place has 1161 H. and in another 1163 H. The year 1163 H. cannot be admitted, as then the date of Naval Ráe's death, which is not disputed, would fall before instead of after Káim Khán's death. I would decide in favour of 1161 H. as having the most evidence in its favour. The date I make out to be the 12th Zi'l Hajj, though some books give the 10th, and some the 15th of that month.

Dauri Rasúlpúr, four miles south-east of the town of Budáon. On the morning of Monday the 12th Zi'l Hajj\* (22nd Nov. 1748), Káim Khán gave the order for battle. Putting on his war attire, he rode out on his elephant followed by fifteen of his brothers,† and the principal leaders and relations of Mahmúd Khán Bakhshi, namely, Ma'zúm Khán, 'Azím Khán, Yusúf Khán, Sa'dat Khán, Salábat Khán, Ahmad Khán and others, besides the friendly Rájáhs.

The chelas, Shamsher Khán, Mukím Khán, Islám Khán, Ja'far Khán, Rustam Khán, Kamál Khán, Khán Bahádúr Khán, were sent on as an advanced guard. They advanced rapidly towards the grove of mango trees where were posted the Rohela leaders, Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Donde Khán, Fath Khán, and others. Shamsher Khán made his attack at the south corner of the *bágh*, and putting its defenders to the sword captured their guns. Some of the Rohelas, who had climbed the trees unperceived by the other side, suddenly poured down arrows and balls like as if the heavens had fallen to the earth. Several of the bullets struck the chain armour of Khán Bahádúr Khán, and an arrow grazed Shamsher Khán upon the forehead. Many of the men were killed. After this Káim Khán and the leading men arrived with their elephants to re-inforce the first attack. A discharge of arrows and musketry was delivered, and then their men drawing their swords put many of the Rohelas to death.

At the very moment of the contest at the south corner, Ma'zúm Khán, brother of Mahmúd Khán, Manavvar Khán, and Námdár Khán, brother of 'Izzat Khán, advanced against Sa'dullah Khán, who was in position at the north corner of the same *bágh*. They fought their way close up to Sa'dullah Khán. Manavvar Khán had in his hand an iron mace (*gurz*). He had raised it to fell Sa'dullah Khán, when Ma'zúm Khán cried out "Brother, take him alive," and at the same time drove his own elephant forward, intending to throw his cloth (*chadar*), made into a noose, over Sa'dullah Khán's head, thus dragging him from the one elephant on to the other. Sa'dullah Khán crouched down in his *howdah*, and the noose missed him. Just at this moment Mullá Sardár Khán Bakhshi with some horsemen and matchlockmen rushed up from his battery, which was to the south of the *bágh*, and the whole of the Bangash leaders and their elephants came under fire. Ma'zúm Khán, 'Azím Khán, Salabat Khán, Jalál Khán and other Afrídi leaders were killed.

\* Wali-ullah and the *Siyyar-ul-Muta'kharin* give the date, 15th Zi'l Hajj.

† The brothers with their number in the list of Muhammad Khán's sons (p. 350-352) were Ahmad Khán, No. 2, 'Abd-un-nabi Khán, No. 6, Husáin Khán, No. 7, Fakhr-uddin Khán, No. 8, Murtazza Khán, No. 4, Imám Khán, No. 11, Bahádúr Khán, No. 15, Hádidád Khán, No. 14, Isma'il Khán, No. 9, Karím-dád Khán, No. 10, Khúda-bundah Khán, No. 12, Shádi Khán, No. 16, Mansúr 'Alí Khán, No. 13, Manavvar Khán, No. 18.



On seeing this, Mahmúd Khán Bakhshi drove his elephant forward, and was soon afterwards shot dead. Then Nawáb Káim Khán ordered his brother, 'Abd-un-nabi Khán, to advance in support. 'Abd-un-nabi Khán and Sháh Asad 'Alí\* were seated on one elephant. The former was killed and the latter wounded above the elbow. One after another, the sons of Muhammad Khán advanced by Káim Khán's order and were shot down. Those killed were 'Abd-un-nabi Khán, Hádídád Khán, Bahádur Khán, Muríd Khán; while those wounded were Imám Khán, Fakhr-ud-din Khán and Murtazza Khán. Those sons of an Amir in bravery and courage did not belie their race; but "against the foreordained what avails, failure and success are "alike in the hand of God."

Three accounts† attribute the Nawáb's death to an ambuscade, an incident omitted by others.‡ Some such accident is almost required to account for the immense slaughter of leaders. It is related thus. Mangal Khán Musenagari had counselled Káim Khán not to advance too far, before the fate of the day was decided. His advice was disregarded. Now between the two armies lay a hollow, long, wide and deep, like the ditch of a fort, called in the Hindi tongue *Bihar*§. Close to the edge of this hollow were high *bájr*a crops. The Rohelas had three thousand men on one side with muskets ready loaded, and five thousand on the other hidden in the high crop along the edge of the ravine. Káim Khán in his pride charged at the enemy, the Rohelas gave way and threw themselves into the hollow. Káim Khán with sixteen thousand veterans and fifty-one chiefs on elephants descended into the hollow in pursuit of the fugitives. As these were on foot, they could scramble up the high bank on the other side, and thus made good their escape. Nawáb Káim Khán had only got half way across the low land, when suddenly the Rohelas in ambush rushed up to the edge, and eight thousand matchlocks were fired down in one volley.

At the critical moment of the attack, Rájáhs Hindú Singh and Gangá Singh and Kusal Singh, who were on Káim Khán's right, turned for flight. Their bad example was imitated by the Mahrattas from Kálpi. Seeing this, the other Rohelas, Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Dunde Khán, Fath Khán and others, came out of the *bágh*, joined Mullá Sardár Khán, and with their united forces turned against Nawáb Káim Khán. Those of his companions, who were still unhurt, gathered round his elephant. The enemy maintained their fire, but attempted no hand-to-hand encounter. When most of those round the Nawáb had been slain, the Rohelas surrounded his elephant and pointed their matchlocks upwards to shoot at him. Shekh Farhat-ullah of Lakhnau, who was on the right hand, brought his elephant closer

\* Died 7th Safar 1184 H. (2nd June 1770).

† The *Siyar-ul-Muta'kharin*, the *'Amád-us-Sa'dat*, and the *Lauh-i-Tárikh*.

‡ Life of H. R. K. and Sháh Hisám-ud-din.

§ Uneven land, full of ravines.

up; but at that moment he was carried off by a musket shot. Shortly afterwards, at about one and a half hours after sunrise, a ball struck Káim Khán on the forehead and he fell dead. Diláwar Khán Narkasse,\* who was seated in the Nawáb's *howdah*, received him in his arms and wiped off the blood. An attempt was made to carry off the body, but the Rohelas pursued and coming up with the elephants cut off the head of the Nawáb. Others who lost their lives in this battle were Mangal Khán Musenagari, Ma'zum Khán Daryábádi, Khizr Khán Panni, Khán Bahádur Khán Khwája Saráe, Rustam Khán and Kamál Khán, chelas, and Roshan Imám, son of Miyan Fazl Imám. Khán Bahádur Khán was buried at 'Aliganj, the popular tradition asserting that his elephant carried his body there from the field of battle.

During the battle Shuja't Khán Ghilzai, who had come there from a sense of duty though against his own inclination, had stood alone on one side. When he was told that Káim Khán was dead, he wept and exclaimed, "Shall such a leader be slain, and I go back alive to appear before the Bibi 'Sáhiba; to do so would be more than I can bear." He went towards the leaders of the enemy's army, intending to give himself up. When he came near to Háfiz Rahmat Khán, the men about him said, "May your mouth be filled with dust." But Háfiz Rahmat Khán, who had got down from his elephant, said, "Send for a *pálki*, meanwhile will you get down?" Diwán Mán Ráe, who was standing close by, said in Pushtu,† "Wise men do not kill the scorpion and leave his brood." During this conversation one of the Rohelas rode up with his matchlock across his shoulder. He fired it at Shuja't Khán and shot him through the breast.

After the death of the Nawáb the rest of the leaders, some wounded and some scatheless, took to flight. They were Nawáb Ahmad Khán, who was wounded, his son Mahmúd Khán, Husain Khán, Fakhr-ud-din Khán, Isma'il Khán, Imám Khán, Karim-dád Khán, brothers of Káim Khán, and the chelas, Shamsheer Khán, Muḡim Khán, Islám Khán. They fled though no one cut off their retreat nor was any man pursuing them. After being much scattered and after much molestation from the zamindárs of that part, they re-assembled near the banks of the Ganges. At first a bridge of boats was thrown across, but Nawáb Ahmad Khán and the others caused it to be broken up. Then driving their elephants into the river they forded it, while the horsemen and infantry, stripping to their waist-cloths, threw themselves into the water and swam across. Out of shame they all slunk into the city and sought their homes by bye-ways. When it was noised abroad that Nawáb Káim Khán was slain and his army defeated, there

\* A *bágh* just outside the Kádiri gate of Farrukhábád is called after this man Rání Bágh Narkasse.

† An unlikely language for a Hindu to know, but thus in Hisám-ud-din's MS.

arose weeping and wailing in every lane and in every house. Not a household was left untouched by this sorrowful event, and the fate of thousands was never traced. Many had been wounded and taken prisoners, many were found dead on the field. Of these latter, those that were recognized were carried away and interred in the graveyards.

The body of the slain Nawáb, clad in rich garments and followed by holy men and mourners, was despatched from the battle-field to Farrukhábád.\* The next day but one, three headless corpses were laid at the feet of the Bibí Sáhíba. Káim Khán was identified by a lily mark on his foot. It is a coloured mark on the sole of the foot, and he who has it is destined to bear rule. The Bibí Sáhíba after her lamentations were over, took the body of her son, and wrapping it in the clothes he wore when slain, carried it out to the Haiyát Bágh for burial at the side of his venerable father.

The following chronograms give the year of Káim Khán's death :

I.—*Káim-i-bihisht shud* (1162).

"He stood firm in paradise."

II.—*Kanjash ba-báz kard shikár* (1163).

"The sparrow pursues the hawk."

III.—*Pák be-bad shahíd Káim Khán* (1162).

After the victory the Rohelas felt as if they had been raised from the dead, and they offered up a thousand prayers and thanks to God. Then with drums beating a triumphal march, they returned to their capital of Anwalah; and parties were sent out to overrun and occupy the Farrukhábád parganahs on the north or left bank of the Ganges. These consisted at that time of ten mahals: 1, Budáon, 2, Auset, 3, Jalálábád, 4, Mihrábád, 5, Ausáyá, 6, Aujhání, 7, Khákatmau-Dahlya, and three others not named (two of them probably 8, Amritpur-Islámganj and 9, Paramnagar, and the third perhaps 10, Sahaswán). The Rohelas advanced as far as Khákatmau, opposite Farrukhábád, where they first met with resistance. A chela who was 'Amil of the place showed a strong front and kept up a vigorous musketry fire at the enemy, many of whom were killed. He would not abandon his parganah, and the Rohelas thinking there was no need to entangle themselves in brambles, left the place and marched back. All the rest of the Trans-Ganges country was thus lost permanently to the Farrukhábád Nawábs. Only Amritpur, Khákatmau and Paramnagar were preserved through the courage of this nameless chela.†

(To be continued.)

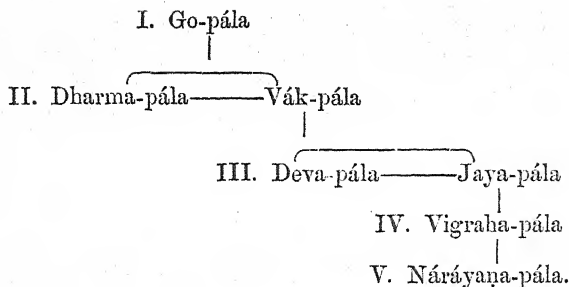
\* The *Gulistán-i-Rahmat* describes in some detail the finding of the body; but the *Hadikat-ul-Akálín* says it was never found. Reports spread of Káim Jang's being still alive, and Shekh Allahyár once saw a man who obtained notoriety for several years by giving himself out to be Káim Jang.

† The battle of Dauri will be found in "*Siyar-ul-Muta'kharin*, III. 874. "*'Amdu-us Sa'dat*," p. 44, line 15 to p. 45, line 17. "*Khizána Amira*" (Lucknow edition) p. 80 and "*Life of H. R. K.*" pp. 29—32. I follow Hisám ud-din almost entirely.

*On the Pāla and the Sena Rājas of Bengal.*—By RĀJENDRALĀLA  
MITRA, LL. D., C. I. E.

The Society has lately received from Mr. Smith of Bhāgalpur a copper-plate of one of the Pāla Kings of Bengal. It measures 15·5 × 12·7 inches, and has a scalloped top 6 inches high and 6·5 long at the base. The centre of the top is enclosed in a circle, 3 inches in diameter, and around it is a band of lotus petals. The legend in the centre is a wheel mounted on a stand, and supported by a deer *rampant* on each side—a well-known Buddhist symbol. Below this is the name of Nārāyaṇa-pāla Deva, and below that a sprig formed of a flower and two leaves. The front of the plate is surrounded by a border line, but on the reverse this does not occur. The inscription in front extends to 29 lines, of which the first four are broken in the middle by the base of the scalloped top, which covers the plate to the depth of 2 inches. On the reverse there are 25 lines of inscription. The plate is thick, and in a fair state of preservation. The letters are of the Kutila type. See plates XXII and XXIII.

The record opens with a stanza in praise of Go-pāla, who was a devout Buddhist, and a follower of Sugata. His son and immediate successor was Dharma-pāla. The latter had a brother named Vāk-pāla, who lived under his sway. On his death Deva-pāla the eldest son of his brother succeeded him. Vāk-pāla had a second son named Jaya-pāla, who is said to have brought Orissa and Allahabad under his brother's government. On the death of Deva-pāla, Vighraha-pāla, the son of Jaya-pāla, came to the throne. Vighraha-pāla married Lajjā of the Haihaya race, and had by her a son, named Nārāyaṇa-pāla. The last, as the reigning sovereign, is spoken of in the highest terms of praise; but the only noticeable work of his described in the record is a bridge of boats across the Ganges near Mungher. In the 17th year of his reign, on the 9th of Vaiśākha, when this prince was encamped near Mudgagiri, modern Mungher, he presented the village of Mukatika for the support of Śiva Bhaṭṭāraka and his followers. The donee appears to have been a Hindu, and the gift was made with a view to assist him in offering *charu* and *bali* to a divinity named Sahasrāksha, and also for the dispensation of medicines to the sick, and food and shelter to the indigent. The record was composed by Bhaṭṭa Gurava, the minister who erected the Budāl pillar, and engraved by Meghadāsa, son of Subhadāsa. The genealogical table deducible from this record may be thus arranged :



The genealogy here given is apparently not in accord with what has been hitherto known to be the family tree of the Pálas, and, in order to elucidate the history of the Pálas, it is necessary to advert to certain records, already published, relating to some of the sovereigns of the family. General Cunningham, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. III, has already noticed them at length; but some of the facts contained in them require to be further discussed.

The first inscription brought to the notice of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was a copper-plate grant of one of the Pála Rájás of Bengal. It had been discovered among some ruins at Mungher, and translated by Sir Charles Wilkins, in 1781, three years before the foundation of the Society. The translation was published in the first volume of the '*Asiatic Researches*,' (pp. 122, *et seq.*), but without any facsimile or transcript of the original. The original is lost, and so many doubtful points in it cannot now be solved. It opens with the name of Go-pála, a pious king, who acted according to what is written in the Śástra, and obliged the different sects to conform to their proper tenets. His religion is not mentioned; but he was evidently a Buddhist, for the document begins with a comparison between him and Sugata Buddha, the allusion to the Śástra being intended either to imply his tolerant character, or to the scriptures of the Buddhists. His son, Dharma-pála, seems to have died while engaged in a marauding excursion towards the Himálaya. The circumstance is explained by his panegyrist in the following manner: "He went to extirpate the wicked and plant the good, and happily his salvation was effected at the same time, for his servants visited Kedár, and drank milk according to the law, and they offered up their vows where the Ganges joins the ocean, and at Gokarna and other places." It is scarcely likely that the king had ever exercised any power in those places. His accomplished wife, Kanna Deví, bore him a son, Prince Deva-pála, who succeeded his father in the kingdom "even as Bodhisattva succeeded Sugata." His name occurs as "the lord of the land" in a Buddhist inscription found in a mound near Pesserawa in Behar.\*

\* Journal, As. Soc. XVII, p. 493.

His conquests, according to the chronicler, extended from the source of the Ganges to Adam's bridge, including the Vindhya and Kámboja countries; but probably it did not in reality stretch much beyond the Vindhyan range. The conquest of Kámboja evidently had no firmer basis than the imagination of the poet. When encamped at Mudgagiri, modern Mungher, this prince, on the 21st day of Márgasírsa, (November—December,) in the 33rd year of his reign, bestowed the town of Misika in Krimila, a department of Śrínagara, modern Patna, to one Bodha Bhikshurata Miśra. The imprecations against the resumption of the grant are given in the usual Purāṇic style.

Soon after, a second monument of that dynasty was found at Budál in Dinájpur, and also translated by Sir Charles Wilkins. It was a record inscribed on a stone pillar, by order of a minister of one of the Pála Rájás. As in the last case so in this the translation was published in the 'Researches,' (Vol. I, pp. 131 *et seq.*) without any text. But a plate was added, giving a front and a side view of the pillar and a specimen of the character of the inscription. Sir William Jones was not satisfied with either of the translations, and appended to them some explanatory notes. A revised transcript and translation of the last, however, has since been published by Bábu Pratápachandra Ghosha,\* and all doubts regarding the original have now been removed. This inscription was put up by a minister of Náráyana-pála who recorded the merits of his ancestors, who seem to have been all officers of the Pála family. Trusting to the wisdom of one of them, the chronicler states, "The king of Gauḍa for a long time enjoyed the country of the eradicated race of Utkala (Orissa), of the Hunnas of humbled pride, of the kings of Dráviḍa and Gurjara, whose glory was reduced, and the universal sea-girt throne." Bábu Pratápachandra Ghosha has thus summarised the historical results of this record.

I. Sándilya.

II. Viradeva.

III. Páñchála.

IV. Garga, married Ichchhá.

V. Sri Darbhapáni, minister of Deva-pála, married Sárkara.

VI. Someśvara Miśra, married Taralá.

VII. Kedárnátha Miśra, married Badhvá of Devagrāma, Sura-pála, contemporary.

VIII. Gurava Miśra, minister of Náráyana-pála.

The third record was found at Sárnáth, near Banáras. It was inscribed on a stone, and a facsimile transcript and a translation of it were published in the fifth volume of the 'Asiatic Researches'. It contained the

\* Ante XLIII, pt. I. pp. 356f.



names of four members of the dynasty under notice, viz., Mahi-pála, Sthira-pála, Vasanta-pála, and Kumára-pála; but the record was throughout so corrupt, and the reading so manifestly incorrect, that no reliance whatever could be placed on it for purposes of historical deduction. The stone was not forthcoming early in this century; but General Cunningham pointed out to Major Kittoe, the probability that the original stone would be found somewhere about the tank of Diwán Jagat Siñha in the city of Benáres, which was constructed entirely of stones removed from Sárnáth. After a short search the latter found it. "The inscription was recorded", says General Cunningham, "on the base of a squatting figure of Buddha, which was broken at the waist. Kittoe sent me a tracing of his sketch of the statue, and a copy of the inscription, with transcript in modern Nágari. This differs very much from Wilford's version, as will be seen in the following translation."

"Adoration to Buddha. Having worshipped the lotus foot of Sri Dhama-rási, sprung from the lake of Varánasí, and having for its moss the hairs of prostrate kings, the fortunate Mahi-pála, King of Gauḍa, caused to be built in Kási hundreds of monuments, such as Íśána and Chitraghanṭa.

"The fortunate Sthira-pála and his younger brother, the fortunate Vasanta-pála, have renewed religion completely in all its parts, and have raised a tower (*śaila*) with an inner chamber (*garbha-kuṭi*), and eight large niches. Samvat 1083, the 11th day of Pausa."\*

The learned antiquarian does not mention where the stone now is, nor the name of the person who translated the record. He has also not given a facsimile or transcript of it. Under the circumstances no critical enquiry can be made as to the correctness of the reading and the translation. This is much to be regretted, as the document is the only one which has a really intelligible and useful date in it.

It is to be regretted also that the next record to which I have to refer, a copper-plate inscription found at Amgáchhi in Dinájpur, appears also to be defective. Colebrooke, who translated it, published only an abstract. According to Colebrooke's abstract the first prince mentioned in it is Loka-pála, and after him, Dharma-pála. The next name has not been deciphered, but the following one is Jaya-pála, succeeded by Deva-pála; two or three subsequent names are yet undeciphered; then follow Rája-pála,—Pála Deva, and Vighraha-pála, and subsequently Mahi-pála Deva, Naya-pála and Vighraha-pála. The date appears to be of the last king's reign, the 9th day of Chaitra (March—April), Samvat 12.

The next record, in order of discovery, was found by Captain Marshall in 1864, but not published in any form. Mr. Broadley noticed it in 1872. It was found inscribed on the jamb of the entrance to the Nálándá temple. It occurs at the foot of an ornamental scroll, and measures 8 inches by 5.

\* Arch. Survey Report III, p. 121.

Its language is Sanskrit, and its extent 12 lines, of which the second breaks off in the middle after the word *Samvat*, and the third begins so as to leave some space at the beginning. This was done probably with a view to leave room enough for the date in figures or words ; but they were never put in. The jamb being made of hard basalt, and having been placed on the door side, deep behind a broad portico or veranda, suffered not at all from the influence of the weather when *in situ* ; and, since the destruction of the temple, having remained buried under a large mass of rubbish, between 20 and 30 feet deep, looks as fresh as when it was first turned out of the sculptor's atillier.

The subject of the record is a donation to the temple, but the nature of the gift is not apparent. The words used for the purpose are *deya dharmoyam* "this is a religious gift," and the pronoun therefore may apply to the stone on which it occurs, or to the gate of which the stone forms a part, or to the portico, or to the entire temple. The words, however, are generally used as a formula for expressing a gift, and the gift might be other than the substance on which they occur. Looking to the nature of the temple,—a brick structure cemented with clay and plastered with stucco, which had undergone several repairs, the plastering in many places being not in keeping with the mouldings formed of bricks, and the door-ways, apart from the stone-facings, being perfect and bearing marks of plastering under the stones—there is no doubt now that the temple existed from long before the time of the Pála Kings of Bengal, and the formula therefore does not apply to it. General Cunningham takes the temple to date from the 1st century B. C. The donor was one Báláditya, a native of Kauśámbi in the Doab of the Ganges, the son of Gurudatta, and grandson of Haradatta. He was a Buddhist by religion, a follower of the Maháyána school, and a devout worshipper. He belonged to a clan of oil-sellers named Tailá-dhaka. He had no pretension to royalty, but in religion, whether Hindu or Buddhist, it was not necessary for a devout person to have high social position, to make a religious gift in an ancient public temple. He claims no merit to himself for the gift, but desires that the fruit of it may promote "the advancement of the highest (religious) knowledge among the mass of mankind."\*

When I first read the inscription from a facsimile, I was disposed to take the date of this inscription to be the *Samvat* year 913 = A. D. 856. I made out the figures from three symbolical words : the first—*agni*, "fire," being equal to 3, the second *rággha*, "power," = to 1 ; and the third *dvára*, 'door' = 9. This would be equal to 319 ; but the practice invariably followed in explaining symbolical figures is to transpose them according to the well-known rule, *añkasya várná gatí*, "figures run to the left," and I had no

\* *Ante* XLI, pt. I, p. 310.

hesitation, therefore, in adopting it, particularly as the character of the writing, the Kuṭiḷa, which had a range of between four or five centuries from the 8th to the 12th, fully justified my course. The symbolical meanings of the first and the last words are well known and undoubted. The second, however, was not in common use, at least I had never found it used in that sense. Its first letter rá was unmistakable, but the second could be a compound of d and ya, which would produce ádya or one, the r being taken for the visarga after agni. This would lead to the same result. Inasmuch however as the first word cannot take the nominative case-mark in the midst of a compound term, I preferred the reading adopted. Soon after communicating my translation to Mr. Broadley I paid a visit to Behar, and, on examining the stone, I found the second letter to be clearly a dh, and the word *rádha* being equivalent to the Hindu month Vaisákha (April—May), I came to the conclusion that the first two words meant the 3rd of Vaisákha, the subsequent word *dudra tate* meaning “spread on the door”, i. e., the gift whatever it was given at the gate.\* This explanation left the figures of the Samvat unprovided, but the blank space after the word Samvat I supposed was the locale of the figures or symbolical words which were never engraved. Professor Ráma Krishna Gopál Bhandárkar of Bombay, to whom a facsimile had been communicated by Mr. Broadley, took the two upright strokes after the word Samvat to be equal to 11.† I could not, however, subscribe to this opinion. In the Kuṭiḷa character the figure for 1 is not an upright stroke, and there was no reason to suppose that a departure had been made in this case. The blank spaces after the word at the end of the first line and at the beginning of the second line would under the supposition also be unaccountable. In Sanskrit inscriptions and MSS. it is not usual to break the matter into paragraphs, and the blank spaces cannot but imply a deliberate act intended for something to be put in afterwards, the matter not being ready at hand at the time of the incision.

Mr. Broadley found an inscription of Go-pála at the same place, two of Madana-pála and Vighraha-pála respectively at Behár; three of Mahi-pála, and one each of Ráma-pála and Deva-pála at Ghosrawáñ and Titrawáñ. The Ghosrawáñ inscription was first noticed by Major Kittoe.‡

With a view to complete the summary of the references to the history of the Pála Kings, it is necessary further to refer to the list of the Pálas given in the Ain-i-Akbari (vol. I, p. 413) and in Táránáth's work. They have been entirely superseded by the inscriptions, but they afford curious illustrations of the changes which had been effected by the traditions current in the time of Abul Fazl. Abul Fazl's list has been reproduced in Pere Tieffenthaler's work.

The Genealogical lists derived from these several sources may be thus tabulated :

\* Ante, XLI, pt. I, p. 310.

† Loc. cit.

‡ Ante XLV.

*The Pāla Kings of Bengal and Behar.*

| No. | Bhāgalpur Plate. | Munghor Plate. | Budāl Pillar.  | Dināpur Plate.   | Sárnāth stone. | Small inscriptions, each a single name. | Ain i Akbari.   | Tārānāth in Bas-relief. |
|-----|------------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1   | Go-pāla.         | Go-pāla.       | ....           | Loka-pāla.       | ....           | Go-pāla (1).                            | Bhu-pāla.       | Go-pāla.                |
| 2   | Dharma-pāla.     | Dharma-pāla.   | ....           | Dharma-pāla.     | ....           | ....                                    | Dhru-pāla.      | Deva-pāla.              |
| 3   | Vāk-pāla.        | ....           | ....           | (Illegible).     | ....           | ....                                    | ....            | Raso-pāla.              |
| 4   | Deva-pāla.       | Deva-pāla.     | Deva-pāla.     | Jaya-pāla.       | ....           | Deva-pāla (2).                          | Deva-pāla.      | Dharma-pāla.            |
| 5   | Jaya-pāla.       | ....           | Sura-pāla.     | Deva-pāla.       | ....           | ....                                    | Bhupati-pāla.   | Masurakshita.           |
| 6   | Vīrabhā-pāla.    | ....           | Nārāyana-pāla. | (Illegible.)     | ....           | ....                                    | Dhanapati-pāla. | Vana-pāla.              |
| 7   | Nārāyana-pāla.   | ....           | ....           | Nārāyana-pāla.   | ....           | Nārāyana-pāla (3).                      | Bijjen-pāla.    | Mahi-pāla.              |
| 8   | ....             | ....           | ....           | Rāja-pāla.       | ....           | ....                                    | Jaya-pāla.      | Maha-pāla.              |
| 9   | ....             | ....           | ....           | — pāla.          | ....           | ....                                    | Rāja-pāla.      | Shamut-pāla.            |
| 10  | ....             | ....           | ....           | Vīrabha-pāla I.  | ....           | Vīrabha-pāla (4).                       | Bhoj-pāla.      | Srestha-pāla.           |
| 11  | ....             | ....           | ....           | Mahi-pāla.       | Mahi-pāla.     | ....                                    | Jagat-pāla.     | Chanaka-pāla.           |
| 12  | ....             | ....           | ....           | Nava-pāla.       | Sthira-pāla.   | Nava-pāla (5).                          | ....            | Peira-pāla.             |
| 13  | ....             | ....           | ....           | Vīrabha-pāla II. | Vasanta-pāla.  | ....                                    | ....            | Neta-pāla.              |
| 14  | ....             | ....           | ....           | ....             | ....           | Mahendra-pāla (6).                      | ....            | Amara-pāla.             |
| 15  | ....             | ....           | ....           | ....             | ....           | Rāma-pāla (7).                          | ....            | Hasti-pāla.             |
| 16  | ....             | ....           | ....           | ....             | ....           | Madana-pāla (8).                        | ....            | Kshānti-pāla.           |
| 17  | ....             | ....           | ....           | ....             | ....           | Govinda-pāla (9).                       | ....            | Rāma-pāla.              |
| 18  | ....             | ....           | ....           | ....             | ....           | ....                                    | ....            | Yaksha-pāla.            |

## REMARKS.

(1) Nālandā, No. 1 of C.  
 (2) Ghosrawān, No. 5 of C.  
 (3) Gayā, No. 6 of C.

(4) Behar, No. 7 of C.  
 (5) Gayā, No. 12 of C.  
 (6) Rāma Gayā, No. 13 of C.

(7) Behar, No. 15 of C.  
 (8) Behar, No. 16 of C.  
 (9) Gayā, No. 18 of C.

It is obvious that the several authorities quoted above all refer to the same dynasty, and the question therefore arises—how to reconcile their discrepancies? The list of the Ain-i-Akbari and that of Táránáth, may be left out of consideration, as they are founded upon tradition, and, in dealing with long lists of names, tradition is always open to mistakes. But the case is different with patents issued during the lifetime of the grantors, and which, from that circumstance, are naturally expected to be accurate in so important a matter as the names of the immediate ancestors of royal personages. Discrepancies in such cases cannot easily be explained away, and in the present instance the difficulty has been greatly enhanced by some of the patents available being imperfect and mutilated. It is the farthest from my wish to cast any reflection on the translators whose works I have to review; I have high respect for their ability and profound scholarship; but where the originals they had to work upon were smudgy, obliterated, and partially illegible, their translations cannot be implicitly relied upon.

The first discrepancy I have to notice is in the name of the founder of the dynasty. According to three inscriptions, of which two are in a perfect state of preservation, and tradition as recorded by Táránáth, it is *Go-pála*; but in a fourth, and that the most defective, it is *Loka-pála*; and the Ain-i-Akbari changes it to *Bhu-pála*. Assuming Colebrooke's reading of the Dinájjur plate to be in this part correct, I can account for the difference by attributing it to the exigency of metre. The genealogy is given in verse, and the necessity for a word of two syllables, I think, induced the conveyancer to change the first part of the name from the monosyllable *go* to the dissyllable *loka*, the meaning remaining unchanged—*go* = 'earth' and *loka* = 'region' or earth. The *bhu* of the Ain-i-Akbari has the same signification. It might appear repulsive to an Englishman that Mr. Black should change into Mr. Melanos, to suit the convenience of a poet, but in the middle ages it was not uncommon in Europe to translate English names into Latin even in prose epitaphs, and in the present day poets not unfrequently change the quantity of proper names to suit their rhyme. In Sanskrit the practice of using synonyms either for the sake of metre, or for that of rhetoric, was at one time not unknown. If this explanation be not acceptable, it might be supposed that the person referred to had two *aliases*; and the writer of the Dinájjur plate used one name, that of the Ain i Akbari another. It is worthy of note that the writer of the Bhágalpur monument was only five generations removed from the founder of the dynasty, whereas that of the Dinájjur plate was separated from him by over twice that interval, and greater faith must be reposed on him who was the nearest to the founder.

The second name is the same in all the three inscriptions in which it occurs, and calls for no remark. The third, however, is not so. In the Bhágalpur record, which is the most perfect, it is *Vák-pála*, but in the

Mungher plate Deva-pála. In the Dinájpur plate it is illegible. It appears, however, from the first record that Vák-pála was the younger brother of Dharma-pála, and served as a lieutenant to his brother. The second record in giving the succession of the reigning sovereign, did not, therefore, feel called upon to name him. In the third record I think the illegible name which Colebrooke could not read and the next name Jaya-pála are not names of reigning sovereigns, but epithets of Dharma-pála, which have been mistaken for proper names. The word pála 'a protector' is just one of those which a Hindu poet would most likely play upon in a variety of ways, and try to educe as many alliterations out of it as possible, and as Colebrooke says, "so great a part of the inscription is obliterated, (portions of every line being illegible) that it is difficult to discover the purport of the inscription,"\* such a mistake was not at all unlikely to happen. If the illegible name be assumed to be Deva-pála, the son of Vák-pála and successor of Dharma-pála, we could not make Jaya-pála his son, for the Bhágalspur plate makes Jaya-pála the son of Vák-pála and brother of Deva-pála, and Vighraha-pála his son. The Budál pillar names Sura-pála only, leaving out Vighraha-pála, but as the object of the pillar was not to give a genealogical table of the kings of the Pála dynasty, but to record the names of the ancestors of one Gurava, the minister of Náráyana-pála, naming the kings incidentally as patrons of those ancestors, the omission is not remarkable. The Dinájpur plate names only one person between Deva-pála and Náráyana-pála, and his name is illegible. We may reasonably assume it to have been Vighraha-pála.

The sixth name in the Bhágalspur plate has not its counterpart in any other record. Its absence from the Mungher plate is accounted for by the fact of the latter not extending beyond Deva-pála; and from the Budál plate, on the supposition of the owner of it not having been a patron of the family to whose honour it was dedicated. It should have been present in the Dinájpur plate, but as the entirety of that document is not forthcoming, it is impossible to say precisely whether there is only one name illegible in it after Deva-pála, or two.

Leaving out of consideration the lists of the Ain i Akbari and of Táránáth, which are unreliable and quite irreconcilable, we have only the Dinájpur plate to supply the names of the descendants of Náráyana-pála down to Mahi-pála, and it gives us four names *viz.*, Rája-pála, —pála, Vighraha-pála and Mahi-pála, which we must accept as correct pending the discovery of some more authentic document. I accept the Naya-pála and Vighraha-pála II. on the same authority, with Sthira-pála and Vasanta-pála as their *aliases* on the testimony of the Benares stone.

In addition to the above there are four other names in inscriptions, each giving a single name; but as there is nothing reliable to show the order

\* As. Researches, IX, p. 434.



of their succession, and further as they do not fall within the scope of this paper, which I wish to confine to the sovereigns of Bengal only, I shall take no note of them. Within the limits which I prescribe for myself, the materials available, as aforesaid, afford a list of eleven reigning sovereigns instead of thirteen, as given by General Cunningham, his Nos. 3 and 4 being inadmissible in the face of the Bhágalpur plate.

The only intelligible date available for these eleven reigns is afforded by the Benares stone, and that is Samvat 1083 = 1026 A. D. The document when first read was utterly untrustworthy, and in drawing up my monograph of the Sena Rájás I took no notice of it. Although no facsimile has since been published, as General Cunningham obtained a copy of the record from so able an antiquarian as the late Major Kittoe, and himself read the date as given above, I am bound to accept it; for I am of opinion that no one in India in the present day has so thorough a knowledge of Indian lapidary writing as that profound scholar, and he is not at all likely to make a mistake in reading a mediæval figure. The date may be taken to be about the middle of Mahi-pála's reign, and as Mahi-pála was the most renowned of the Pálas of Bengal, the only one whose name is still remembered by the people, and whose monument, the Mahi-pála Dighi of Dinájpur, is still in existence, his reign may be fairly assumed to have been of more than average length. If I say it lasted from 1015 to 1040 A. D., I fancy it would not be by any means thought to be improbable.

With this starting-point gained it is necessary to calculate backwards the times of his eight predecessors. For this purpose General Cunningham adopts an average of 25 years. He says, "Assigning 25 years to a generation, and working backwards from Mahi-pála, the accession of Go-pála, the founder of the dynasty, will fall in the latter half of the 8th century; or still earlier, if we allow 30 years to each generation. By either reckoning, the rise of the Pála dynasty of Magadha is fixed to the 8th century A. D., at which time great changes would appear to have taken place amongst most of the ruling families of Northern India."\*

The General assigns no reason for adopting this average, and I cannot help thinking that it is too high. It is certainly not in accord with data available from Indian history. Twenty reigns of the Mughals, from 1494 to 1806, give an average of 15 years and 7 months. Twenty-one reigns in Káshmir, from 1326 to 1588, give 12 years and 6 months. Forty reigns of the Delhi Patháns yield an average of 9 years and 9 days. Twenty-four reigns of the Bengal Patháns, from 1200 to 1350, produce a little over 6 years. Similarly twenty reigns in Burmah, from 1541 to 1781, offer an average of 12 years. Doubtless these averages are of periods and reigns

\* Arch. Surv. Report, III, p. 135.

some of which were much troubled; but in a place like Ceylon, whose insular position protected it to a great extent from outside or foreign attacks, twenty reigns from 1410 to 1798 yield an average of 19 years and nearly 5 months. In England, in the same way, from Edward IV to William IV, or 1461 to 1837, twenty-one reigns yield an average of no more than 17 years, 10 months and 25 days. There was nothing in the physical or political condition of the Pálas in Bengal which could give them a greater immunity from the vicissitudes of changes incident to royalty than in the places named. James Prinsep, after a careful survey of the history of Indian dynasties, took 16 to 18 years to be the average, and nothing has since been found to show that his calculations were wrong. Doubtless in taking averages a great deal depends upon the period and the number of reigns taken into account. A George III, or an Akbar, with two or three average reigns, would often upset all calculations; but with 20 to 40 reigns, the risk of error from occasionally protracted reigns is reduced to a minimum. The Pálas in Bengal did not enjoy any great immunity from outside attacks. They had very powerful rivals in the kings of Orissa on one side, in those of Behar and Kanauj on another, and those of Assam and Tipperah and Eastern Bengal on a third, and it is well known how outside rivalry fomented domestic discord; and, taking these facts into consideration, I cannot assign them a higher average. Eighteen years, in my opinion, would be (if anything) high, but in consideration of the number of reigns being small—only eight before Mahi-pála—and to provide for the possibility of there having been an Akbar or two among them, I shall take it at 20, which would be the highest possible admission. At this rate the result will be as follows:

|                            |     |                              |      |
|----------------------------|-----|------------------------------|------|
| I. Go-pála, .....          | 855 | VII. — pála,.....            | 975  |
| II. Dharma-pála, .....     | 875 | VIII. Vighraha-pála, II,...  | 995  |
| III. Deva-pála, .....      | 895 | IX. Mahi-pála, 1015 to 1040  |      |
| IV. Vighraha-pála, I ..... | 915 | X. Naya-pála, .....          | 1060 |
| V. Náráyana-pála,.....     | 935 | XI. Vighraha-pála, III, 1080 |      |
| VI. Rája-pála,.....        | 955 |                              |      |

The inscriptions noticed above clearly show that all the Pálas were staunch Buddhists; but several of them were tolerant enough to employ Hindus as their principal officers of state; and, though they no doubt encouraged the diffusion of their own religion, they not only did not oppress their people for their religion, but even allowed their Hindu ministers to apply to them, in official and estate documents, praise which could be grateful only to Hindu ears. They went further, and sometimes gave lands for religious purposes which cannot be strictly called Buddhist.

The last question in connexion with the Pálas is the locale or extent of their dominion. Táránáth calls them all kings of Bengal; so does Abul

Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari. The Mungher plate does not name the kingdom of the three Pálas, but it was executed when the camp of Deva-pála was pitched at Mudgagiri, *i. e.*, Mungher. The Bhágalpur plate was also executed at Mungher, and in it Náráyana-pála is called the "lord of Anga," or king of Bhágalpur and its neighbourhood, including Mungher. The Budál pillar occurs in the Dinájjpur district, and that would show that in the time of Náráyana-pála his minister Gurava had administrative power on the north of the Padmá. The Dinájjpur plate not having been fully deciphered, we know not where it was executed, and, though found at Ámgáchi, it is possible that the grant may refer to some place at a great distance from it. There can be no doubt, however, that one of the latest kings named in it, Mahi-pála, exercised full sovereignty in the province to the north of the Padmá. That vast sheet of water in Dinájjpur which still bears his name, the Mahi-pála dighi, is a proof positive on this point. We have also the evidence of the Sárnáth stone which calls him lord of Gauda, though the stone cannot be accepted as a proof of Mahi-pála's reign having extended as far as Benares. In a sacred place of pilgrimage any person could go and dedicate a temple or an image, without in any way acquiring political power in the locality.

Mr. Westmacott, in his "Traces of Buddhism in Dinájjpur," supplies several other proofs in support of the sovereignty of the Pálas on the north of the Padmá. He says, "In all south-eastern Dinájjpur, and the neighbouring parts of Bagurá, remains of Buddhism, and of the Buddhist Pála kings are numerous. It was in this neighbourhood that in the seventh century the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-Tsang found the Buddhist court of Paundra-vardhana which I identify with Vardhana Kúti, the residence of a very ancient family, close to Govindaganj, on the Karatoyá. Mr. Fergusson, in his paper on Hiouen-Tsang, quotes from an account of Paundradeśa in the fourth volume of the 'Oriental Quarterly Magazine,' that Vardhana Kúti, governed by a Yavana, or Musalmán, was one of the chief towns of Nirvritti, comprising Dinájjpur, Rangpur and Koch Behar, and consequently the eastern half of Hiouen-Tsang's kingdom of Paundra Vardhana."\* Elsewhere he says: "Dharma-pála, whose fort still bears his name, more than seventy miles north of Vardhana Kúti, and other Pála kings, were ruling east of the Karatoyá long after Bengal had been subdued by the Senas, before whom indeed the Pálas probably retreated by degrees to the north-east, and were supplanted without any great catastrophe."† Again, "close to Jogi-ghopá are extensive brick remains, said to have been the palace of Devá-pála, whether the Deva-pála of the Mungher plate or not I will not say, but certainly of the Ámgáchi plate. Bhimlá Deví, daughter of Deva-pála, is said by the ignorant *pujáris* to be represented by one

\* *Ante*, XLIV, p. 188.† *Loc. cit.*

of the Jogi-ghopá carvings. A mile to the south-west, at Amári, are more brick remains which Dr. Buchanan heard called the palace of Mahi-pāla. Across the *bíl*, two miles north-east, at Chondirá, are remains, which he was told were those of Chandra-pāla's palace; there are more bricks at Kaṭak and Dhorál, and indeed in all the country round are innumerable brick ruins. Seven miles north of the great *stúpa* is the celebrated Budál pillar, set up by a minister of Náráyaṇa-pāla, and bearing an inscription, in which Deva-pāla and Sura-pāla are mentioned as having preceded Náráyaṇa-pāla. A dozen miles north of that again was found the Am-gáchi plate, containing a grant of Vighraha-pāla, and enumerating his ancestors, Sura-pāla his father, Mahi-pāla, Dharma-pāla, and others."\* Several local names, such as Mahiganj, Mahinagar, Mahipur, Mahi-santosh, Nayanagar, &c., also bear remains of the names of former Pāla kings.

The evidence thus is on the whole sufficient to show that the Pālas exercised sovereignty on the west of the Bhágirathí, certainly as far as the boundary of Behar and probably further, taking the whole of the ancient kingdom of Magadhá. On the north it included Tirhut, Máldá, Rájsháhi, Dinájpur, Rangpur and Bagurá, which constituted the ancient kingdom of Paundravardhana. The bulk of the delta seems, however, not to have belonged to them. To show this and to prove the time when they were finally expelled from Bengal proper, we must turn to the history of the Sena Rájás of Bengal.

In my paper on the Sena Rájás,† I have already put together the names of all the Sena Rájás that have been brought to light by authentic records, and nothing has since been discovered to disturb their genealogical table as published by me. Mr. Westmacott, in 1875,‡ published some remarks on my paper, but his criticisms did not apply to the order of succession. But several important facts have since been brought prominently to notice, and they necessitate slight alterations in the dates assigned by me to the several princes of that dynasty.

The most important of these facts is the era of Lakshmaṇa Sena. The credit of first discovering it is due to Colebrooke. In the Preface to his translation of the 'Digest of Hindu Laws,' he remarked: "Haláyudha, the spiritual adviser of Lakshmaṇa Sena, (a renowned monarch who gave his name to an era of which six hundred and ninety-two years are expired), is the author of Nyáya-sarvaśva, &c." But no notice was afterwards taken of this era, and Prinsep in his 'Useful Tables' entirely passed it over. Subsequently an opportunity offered him when he noticed an inscription from Buddha Gayá,§ in which the era of Lakshmaṇa is distinctly mentioned,

\* *Loc. cit.* † *Ante*, Vol. XXXIV. ‡ *Ante*, XLIV, pp. 1 f. § *Ante*, V, p. 669.

but he overlooked it. In that record the date is given in these words :

श्रीमन्नक्षत्रसेनदेवपादानामतीतराज्ये सं० ७४ वैशाखवदि १२ गुर्तौ ।

"On Thursday, the 12th of the wane, in the month of Vaisákha, Sam. or year 74 after the expiration of the reign of the auspicious Lakshmana Sena Deva." Calculated with the datum given by Colebrooke, it would have at once settled the date of Lakshmana Sena ; but this was not done. In 1873, I found a MS. of the 'Sadukti-karpámrta,' dated Saka 1500=1578 A. D., in the colophon of which the work is described to have been compiled in the Saka year 1127=1205 A. D., which corresponded with some date of Lakshmana Sena which I could not make out. The date is given in words, the meaning of which could not be reconciled ; the words are श्रीमन्नक्षत्रसेनचित्तिपस्य रसिकविश्वे । The author was the son of a confidential friend and a general under Lakshmana Sena.\*

Shortly after the publication of my remarks on this MS., in an anonymous article on the life of Váchaspati Mísra, published in a Bengali magazine called *Banga Darsana*, Bábu Rájakrishna Mukarji announced that the era of Lakshmana Sena was still current in Tirhut, and its date in 1874 was 767, its distinctive mark being ल० सं०, the initial letters of "Lakshmana Sena Samvat." The Bábu also noticed an inscription of Siva Sīñha, a local chieftain, which bore date the 280th of Lakshmana Sena's era. A brief notice of this article appeared in the 'Indian Antiquary' for 1875. The Bábu, likewise, used this date in an elementary history of Bengal, published in that year. Thus the credit of utilizing the date and bringing it to bear on the history of Bengal is entirely due to him.

In 1875 Mr. Westmacott brought to notice a copper-plate grant found in the bed of a tank called Tarbandighi, seven miles S. S. E. of Debkot in Dinájpur,† which bore the 7th year of Lakshmana Sena's reign ; but no attempt was then made to trace the initial date of the era.

In 1877, Pañdit Rámanátha Tarkaratna, who is employed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal to collect information regarding Sanskrit MSS. in private libraries, while travelling in Tirhut, collected some information on the subject, and communicated it to me. He also purchased there two old Sanskrit MSS. for the Government of India, which were dated in the era in question. One of them *Anumánáloka-tíká*, a gloss by Madhusúdana Thakkura on the *Anumána Khaṇḍa* of Gaṅgeśa, is dated ल० सं० ४५९ चैत्रशुक्लचतुर्दश्या । "the 14th of the waxing moon in the month of Chaitra L. S. 479." The other, *Pratyaksháloka-darpana*, a gloss by Maheśa Thakkura, on the *Pratyaksha Khaṇḍa* of Gaṅgeśa, has वेदाद्यनिर्गमैर्युक्ते भूपलक्षणसम्भवे । "In the year of the Vedas (4) the eight, and the Nigamas (4,) according to the king Lakshmana."

\* Notices of Sanskrit MSS. III, pp. 134—148-9.

† *Ante*, XLIV, p. 13.

Apparently disjointed as these facts are, they are of great importance in the elucidation of the date of the Sena Rājās. To put them together, we have first in the Turpandighi plate the 7th year of Lakshmana's reign. In the Buddha Gayā inscription we have the 74th year of his era. Then we have in the Sadukti-karṇāmpita MS. some date which corresponded with the Śaka 1127=1205 A. D. Then comes the Śiva Sūla inscription, dated in the 280th year of that king's era. Then we have two MSS., one dated in the 459th year, and the other in the 484th of that era. And lastly we have the fact that the era is still current, and in the present year reckons 771. That the era is not a newly devised one, is abundantly evident from the fact of its having been in regular currency all along, and its present figure, therefore, gives us a very correct clue to its initial date. The pandits of Tirhut reckon the era to be a luni-solar one, commencing from the 1st of the luni-solar month of Māgha, and it must have therefore commenced in January 1106 A. D., or within three years of the date which I conjecturally assigned to Lakshmana Sena in my paper on the Sena Rājās.\* This settles the date of Lakshmana Sena on infinitely more reliable data than what we have for any other Hindu sovereign of the pre-Muhammadan era.

Beginning with 1106, Lakshmana had a very prosperous reign of many years, for his minister Halāyudha informs us, in the preface to his Brāhmaṇa Sarvasva, that he commenced service when very young as a court pandit, and was successively raised by the king to higher ranks, till he was made a minister when he had become old.† A period of 30 years would scarcely be too much for this, and Lakshmana's reign may very fairly be assumed to have extended to the close of the fourth decade of the 12th century. His immediate successors, Mādhava Sena and Keśava Sena did not take up each two or three years, and the rest of the century was taken up by Lākshmanēya *alias* Aśoka Sena, the Lakshmanīyā of Muhammadan writers.

The name Aśoka has puzzled many antiquarians. With the vivid recollection of the name as that of the great patron of Buddhism, they have found it difficult to reconcile with it the idea of a Hindu bearing the name. But the word simply means "griefless," and there is nothing to prevent such a name being given to a Hindu. On the contrary, Hindu mothers and guardians often use terms indicative of immunity from pain, grief and the like; and, in the case of a posthumous child which lost its mother immediately after its birth, a term implying that it would never have cause to mourn the loss of its parents, would by no means be inappropriate.

With the close of Aśoka Sena's reign, the sovereignty of the Hindus in the delta passed to the Muhammadans; but the exact time when this

\* *Ante*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 139.

† *Ante*, p. 138.



happened, yet remains undetermined. When writing my paper on the Sena Rájás I accepted as a fact the opinion then prevalent, that this happened in 1203 A. D. This, however, has since been questioned. The late Mr. Blochmann, whose researches into the dark points in the Muhammadan history of India were unrivalled, came to the conclusion, that the transfer must have taken place four years earlier, or between 1198 and 1199, whereas Major Raverty, in his translation of Albiruni, removed it 590 H. = 1194 A. D.,\* while Mr. Thomas placed it at 599 H. = 1204 A. D. Even the latest of these dates would seem to be a little too early, if we should take the statement of the author of the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita*, who completed his work in 1205, when he described himself as a district Commissioner in the service of Lákshmaṇeya, to mean that his master was then reigning at Nuddea. He could not have held that position in 1205, if the kingdom had passed away to the Muhammadans five years before. But it was possible for him to describe his official rank in his work, even after he had lost it, or to refer to the king when he reigned at Sonárgáoñ after his retirement from Nuddea; for it is now well-known that he and his descendants lived at the latter place for several years after his overthrow by Bukhtiar Khilji.† Dr. Wise believes that there must have been a Ballála Sena reigning in Vikrámpur or Sonárgáoñ after Lakshmaniyá, and Susena and Sura Sena, whose names I once took to be *aliases* of Lakshmaniya, were probably those of other successors. On this point, however, there is no reliable information at hand; and as the question of date is related to Muhammadan history, I shall leave it unnoticed for the present.

Turning to the ancestors of Lakshmana Sena, the first name I have to deal with is that of Ballála. The close of his reign of course took place in the year of the commencement of the reign of his son. But when it commenced, remains uncertain. The *Ain i Akbari* makes it begin at 1066, which would give it a duration of 41 years. The authority of Abul Fazl, however, is not great in such matters; and, as I have rejected it in the case of the Pálas, I cannot consistently accept it in the present instance. This much, however, may be unhesitatingly stated, that Ballála's reign was a long and prosperous one. He is the best known to this day of all the Sena Rájás, and the system of nobility or Kulinism which he organized, exists to this day in full force. None but a powerful sovereign, reigning with considerable éclat for a prolonged period, could have carried out the system so thoroughly as he did; and a reign of 41 years is after all not so improbable as absolutely to necessitate its rejection.

Of the predecessors of Ballála we have lapidary proofs of four names, Vijaya Sena, Hemanta Sena, Sámanta Sena, and Vira Sena, extending, at an average of 18 years, to 994 A. D., or at 20 years, which I have reluctantly

\* *Ante* XLIV, p. 277.

† *Ante* XLIII, p. 83.

assigned to the Pālas, to 986 A. D. The last name I took to be an *alias* of Adisura, Vira and Sura being synonymous, and a notable instance of the use of synonyms occurs in the name of the founder of the Pāla dynasty, who is at option called Go-pāla, Bhū-pāla or Loka-pāla. In a Bengali book, entitled *Sambandha-nirṇaya*, published two years ago, Paṇḍit Lālamohana Vidyānidhi states that he had been informed of a tradition current in the Varendra country which makes one Bhūsura the son of Adisura, and adds that Bhūsura dying without male issue, his daughter's son Aśoka Sena succeeded him, who was followed by Sura Sena, and the latter by Vira Sena. On asking the paṇḍit for his authority for this tradition, he told me that he had got it from a Kulajña at Murshidabad, but that he had heard it nowhere else. On so slender an authority, I cannot induce myself to accept it as a matter worthy of historical enquiry. The two names Aśoka and Sura are later names, which the Kulajña put at the beginning, evidently not knowing where else to place them. Leaving these names aside, it will be seen that the Pāla and the Sena dynasties fall for some time within the same period. The one beginning in the 9th decade and the other in the 6th decade of the 10th century. It is obvious, therefore, that they could not have reigned over the whole of Bengal at the same time, nor could the Senas have followed the Pālas, as the modern Anglo-Indian historians usually make them; but there can be no doubt that both dynasties did reign in Bengal at the same time. The difficulty, however, may be easily overcome.

It has been already shown that the Pālas occupied western and northern Bengal. There is nothing, however, to show that they had extended their sway to the eastern districts. Whereas tradition assigns to the Senas the whole of the delta and the districts to the east of it. The chief seat of their power was at Vikrampur near Dhākā, where the ruins of Ballāla's palace are still shown to travellers. Dr. Wise, in his notice of Vikrampur, says—"A remarkable evidence of this is afforded by the names of the 56 villages assigned to the descendants of the Five Brāhmins whom Adisura brought from Kanauj. All those villages were situated within the delta, and none out of it." This is of course an indirect evidence, but it is not the less significant. It may be added that none of those who dwelt out of the delta, in the northern districts, were included in the scheme of Ballāla's nobility. The Varendras have since organized a system of their own, but it is not in accord with that which prevails as the system of Ballāla.

The religion of the Senas was Hinduism, either of the Śaiva or of the Vaiṣṇava sect. In the Rājshāhī stone and the Bākerganj copper-plate, Śiva is the divinity invoked. In the Tarpandighi plate preference is given to Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, and the epithet Parama-māheśvara occurs in all the three. The well-known fact of the founder of the family obtaining five Brāhmins to perform Vedic rites which, owing to the dominance of the

Buddhists, had become obsolete in Bengal, clearly shows that they were Hindus, and there is nothing to give rise to suspicion in the matter.

In no part of the world could two such near neighbours as the Pálas and the Senas, professing such antagonistic faiths as Buddhism and Hinduism, co-exist without coming into hostile contact; and in Bengal there is no reason to suppose that the case was otherwise than what has been elsewhere invariably the result of such neighbourhood. Even chiefs professing the same faith have not been noted for their amity to rivals, and we may therefore take it for granted that the Pálas and the Senas frequently fell out with each other, until one expelled the other from the country. When this expulsion took place, it is at present impossible to determine with absolute precision. But materials are not wanting to show that this happened about the middle of the 11th century. It has been already shown that to the time of Mahi-pála, northern Bengal belonged to the Pálas, and the Tarpandighi plate of Lakshmana Sena, and the prevalence of that sovereign's era in Tirhut to this day, incontestably prove that northern Bengal had come into the possession of the Senas before the commencement of the 12th century. Ballála, the father of Lakshmana, had the title of "King of Gauda," and that takes us to the 7th decade of the 11th century; and in the Bhágulpur stone there is a verse which says "Vijaya overthrew the king of Gauda." The verse is somewhat involved in its construction, but the most obvious meaning appears to be the following:

"'Thou hast no hero to conquer,' said the bards. On hearing it, through a misconception (the words being susceptible of the meaning 'thou hast conquered no hero') the king overthrew the king of Gauda, subjugated the hero of Kamrúpa and quickly conquered him of Kalinga."\* At an average reign of 18 years Vijaya must have commenced his reign in 1048. At an average of 20 years the date would be 1046, the overthrow therefore must have taken place between 1046 and 1055. As it is not likely that Mahi-pála's reign had extended beyond 1040, the event must have taken place when Naya-pála, his successor, was the sovereign of Gauda. The Pálas then receded from northern Bengal, and reigned for some time in the western districts of the kingdom, making Magadha or Mungher their capital.

The result of these remarks may be thus tabulated:

| PÁLA KINGS.                              |     | SENA KINGS.                             |      |
|------------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------------|------|
| <i>In Western &amp; Northern Bengal.</i> |     | <i>In Eastern &amp; Deltaic Bengal.</i> |      |
| I.—Go-pála, .....                        | 855 | I.—Vira Sena, .....                     | 986  |
| II.—Dharma-pála, .....                   | 875 | II.—Sámanta Sena, .....                 | 1006 |
| III.—Deva-pála, .....                    | 895 | III.—Hemanta Sena, ...                  | 1026 |

\* *Ante*, XXXIV, p. 144.

|                            |      |                                |        |
|----------------------------|------|--------------------------------|--------|
|                            |      | <i>In the whole of Bengal.</i> |        |
| IV.—Vigraha-pāla, I, ...   | 915  | IV.—Vijaya <i>alias</i> Sukha  |        |
| V.—Nārāyaṇa-pāla, ...      | 935  | Sena, 1046                     |        |
| VI.—Rāja-pāla, .....       | 955  | V.—Ballāla Sena, .....         | 1066   |
| VII.— — pāla, .....        | 975  | VI.—Lakṣmāṇa Sena, ...         | 1106   |
| VIII.—Vigraha-pāla II, ... | 995  | VII.—Mādhava Sena, .....       | 1136   |
|                            |      | VIII.—Keśava Sena, .....       | 1138   |
|                            |      | IX.—Lākṣmaṇya <i>alias</i>     |        |
|                            |      | Asoka Sena, .....              | 1142 ? |
| IX.—Mahi-pāla, .....       | 1015 | <i>In Vikrampur.</i>           |        |
| to                         | 1040 | Ballāla Sena, ....             |        |
| X.—Naya-pāla, .....        | 1040 | Su Sena, .....                 |        |
| to                         | ?    | Sura Sena, &c., .....          |        |

*In Behar.*

## XI.—Vigraha-pāla III and others.

In my first paper on the subject I started the opinion that the Senas were Kshatriyas of the lunar race, and not Vaidyas as they are supposed to have been by the people of the present day. The opinion was founded upon the positive declaration of two inscriptions, and that of a work, the *Dina-sāgura*, written by Ballāla himself. It has now the support of another inscription. In the Tarpaudighi plate there occurs a verse which Mr. Westmacott thus renders into English: "The kings of the race of Aushadhinātha (moon) neutralize the sharp fever-poison of their enemies by the lustre of the nails of their feet, as with the juice of the creepers nurtured (as plants with water) by the lustre of the diadems of numbers of kings, prostrate in homage."\* Exception, however, has been taken to the deduction by some of my countrymen, mostly Vaidyas of the Sena family, who claim themselves to be of the royal race, and several Bengali books have been written to prove my error. My critics all labour under the mistake that I wanted to make the Sena kings members of the Kāyastha caste, in order to glorify that caste, and enjoy the advantage of a ray of that glory, being myself a Kāyastha; but as I have nowhere said anything of the kind, I cannot but leave this part of their criticisms unnoticed. They have created their own Frankenstein, and I leave them to lay it in the best way they can. The chief arguments which they urge to controvert the statements of the inscriptions are—1st, that the statements may be due to poetical license, or a desire to eulogize the kings in an exaggerated style; 2nd, that the reference to the moon, who is, according to the Purāṇic mythology, the lord of medicines, may be due to a desire to make an indirect allusion to the profession of the Vaidya caste; 3rd, that others than Kshatriyas could call themselves descendants of the lunar race; 4th, that Ādisura, who is described as a descendant

\* *Ante*, XLIV, pt. I, p. 13.

of the lunar race cannot be the same with Vira Sena, for none would employ a synonym to indicate a proper name, and so the epithet of the former cannot apply to the latter.

Little need be said in reply to these arguments. The first is a mere assumption, and not by any means a permissible one. Exaggerations and hyperboles are the chief aliments on which poets most do thrive ; but there is not a single authentic instance in which poetical license has been, in India, permitted to invade the domains of caste. The Puráṇas have made mortals conquer the immortal gods, endowed them with the most transcendental attributes, called them gods, but never changed their castes ; nor have they ever attempted to disown cross sinisters from the escutcheon of the greatest of their kings. And what is true of these Puráṇas, is equally so of later writings, when tenacity for caste distinctions had grown much stronger. It is observable also, that no spirit of poetical hyperbole can be predicated of Ballála Sena describing his own caste in a law treatise by himself.

The second argument is ingenious ; but it is, like the first, a mere assumption. I have no hesitation in saying, that in the whole range of Sanskrit literature, there is not an instance in which the caste of the Vaidyas has been indirectly referred to by allusion to the moon. At best it is an attempt to give preëminence to a possible metaphorical interpretation, in preference to an obvious literal meaning.

The third is incorrect. None but a Kshetríya could call himself a member of the lunar or the solar race, and members of those races, when degraded or outcasted, could not retain their claim to the honor of membership under them. The instances cited of Yayáti's children becoming members of different castes refer to the earliest stage of Hindu society, when caste distinctions probably did not exist, or at any rate were not very strictly observed ; and even then there is no proof to show that those who were degraded were in the habit of calling themselves members of the solar race. Within the last two thousand years, a Bráhmaṇ or a Kshetríya, condemned to be a Chaṇḍála, has never been permitted to call himself a Bráhmaṇ or a Kshetríya Chaṇḍála. The idea is simply ridiculous.

The fourth argument has already been answered by the parallel case of Go-pála appearing also under the names of Bhu-pála and Loka-pála. Were it otherwise, the argument would not advance in the least, for my antagonists admit that Vira Sena was the great-grandson of Ādisura by the daughter's side, and if so, the son-in-law of Bhúsura and his son-in-law could not be of other than the caste of Ādisura. On the whole the arguments are based on a series of suppositions, in order to support a modern tradition against the avowed declarations of authentic contemporary records. I deny the accuracy of the tradition, and

my antagonists beg the question at issue, by saying that the tradition must be correct, and the records must be made to conform to it by a number of suppositions. Truth can never be elicited by such a course of reasoning, and it would be a mere waste of time to enter into a disputation with persons who attach greater importance to traditions than to authentic contemporary records.

*Transcript of a Copper-plate from Bhágalpur.*

- १ । खल्लि । मैत्रीकृष्णरत्नप्रसुदितहृदयः
- २ । प्रेयसी' सन्धानः सम्यक्सम्बोधिविद्यासरिदमलज-
- ३ । लक्षालिताज्ञानपङ्कः । जित्वा यः काम
- ४ । कारिप्रभवमभिभवं शाश्वती' वा \* \* \* यशोऽब्धिं स श्रीमान् लोकनाथो जय-
- ५ । ति दशवल्लोऽन्यस्य गोपालदेवः ॥ लक्ष्मीजन्मनिकेतवंस(श)मकरोद् वोढुं क्षमः  
क्षामरं पञ्चच्छेदभयाद्-
- ६ । पस्थितवतामेकाग्रयो भूयतां । मर्यादापरिपालनैकनिरतः शैथ्यालयोऽस्मादभूद्  
दुग्धाम्बोधिविलस-
- ७ । ह्यसिमहिमा श्रीधर्मपालो नृपः ॥ जिलेन्द्रराजप्रभृतीनरातीनुपार्जिता येन सद्यो-  
दयश्रीः । दत्ता पुनः
- ८ । सा बलिनाथैपि चैव क्रायुधायानति वामनाथ ॥ रामस्येव गृहीतसत्यतपसस्तस्यानु-  
रूपो गुणैः सौमित्रेव दया-
- ९ । दितुल्यमहिमा वाक्पालनामानुजः । यः श्रीमान्नयविक्रमैकवसतिर्भातुः स्थितः शा-  
सने शुन्याः शत्रुपताकिनी-
- १० । भिरकरोदेकातपचा दिशः ॥ तस्मादुपेन्द्रचरितैर्जगतीस्युनानः पुत्रो बभूव विजयी  
जयपालनामा । धर्मदि-
- ११ । पां शमधिता युधि देवपाले यः पूर्वजे भुवनराज्यसुखान्यनेषीत् ॥ यस्मिन् धातुर्नि-  
देशाद्भवति परितः प्रस्थिते
- १२ । जेतुसाशः सीदन्नाथैव दूरान्नजिपुरमजहादुत्कलानामधीशः । आसाद्यक्रो चिराय  
प्रणधिपरिहृतो विभदु-
- १३ । चेन मूर्ध्ना राजा प्राग्ज्योतिषाणामुपशमितसमित् स(श)कृया यस्य चाज्ञां ॥ श्रीमान्  
विग्रहपालस्तत्सुनुरजातशत्रुरि-
- १४ । व । जातः शत्रुवनिताप्रसाधनविलोपिविमल्लासिजलधारः ॥ रिपवो येन गुर्वीणां  
विपदामास्यदीकृताः । पुरुषाय-
- १५ । षदीर्घाणां सुहृदः सम्पदामपि ॥ लज्जेति तस्य जलधेरिव जङ्गुकन्या पत्नी बभूव  
कृतहृदयवंशभूषा । यस्याः शुची-
- १६ । नि चरितानि पितुश्च वंशे पत्युश्च पावनविधिः परमो बभूव ॥ दिक्पालैः क्षिति-  
पालनाथ दधत्तं देहे विभक्ताः



- १७ । धियः श्रीनारायणपालदेवमहज्जत्तस्यां स पुण्योत्तरं । यः चौणीपतिभिः शिरोमणि-  
रुचान्तिष्ठाङ्गिपीठोपलं न्यायोपा-
- १८ । तमलञ्चकार चरितैः खैरेव धर्मासनं ॥ यतः पुराणलैङ्गानि चतुर्व्यर्गविधीनि च ।  
आरिष्मन्ते यतस्थानि चरितानि महीभूतः ॥
- १९ । स्त्रीकृतः सुजनमनोभिः सत्यायितः सच्चवाहनैः स्त्रीयैः । त्यागे न यो न्यधत्ताष्ट्र देयं  
मेऽङ्ग राजन् कथां ॥ भयादरातिभिर्घस्य रण-
- २० । मूर्धनि विस्फुरन् । असिरिन्दीवरश्यामो ददृशे पीतलोहितः ॥ यः प्रज्ञया च धनुषा  
च जगद्विनीय नित्यं न्यवीविशद्-
- २१ । नाकुलमात्मधर्म्मैः । यत्थार्थिनः सविधमेत्य भ्रष्टं कृतार्था नैवार्थितां प्रति पुनर्विदधु-  
र्धनीषां ॥ श्रीपतिरुक्कधर्म्मा विद्या-
- २२ । धरनायको महाभोगी । अनलसदृशोऽपि धाम्ना यश्चिवन्नलसमश्चरितैः ॥ व्याघ्रैर्यस्य  
विजगति शरच्चन्द्रगौरैर्यशो-
- २३ । भिर्भ्यं शोभाञ्च खलु विभरासास रुद्रादृहासः । सिद्धजीणामपि शिरसिज्यर्पिताः  
कोतकीनां पञ्चापीडाः सुचिरम-
- २४ । भवन् भृङ्गशब्दानुमेयाः ॥ तपो ममास्तु राज्यन्ते द्वाभ्यामुक्तमिदं द्वयोः । यस्मिन्  
विग्रहपालेन सगरेण भगीरथे ॥ + स खलु भा-
- २५ । गीरथीपथप्रवर्त्तमाननानाविधनैवाटसम्पादितसेतुबन्धविहितशैलशिखरश्रेणीविभ-  
मात् निरतिशयघनघनाघनघटा-
- २६ । श्यामायमानवासरलक्ष्मीसमारब्धसन्नतजलदसमयसन्देहात् उदीचीनानेकनरपति-  
प्राष्टतीक्ष्णताप्रमेयहयवाहिनीखर-
- २७ । खुरोत्खातधूलीधूसरितदिगन्तरालात् परमेश्वरसेवासमायाताशेषजम्बुद्वीपभूपाला-  
नन्तपादात् भरनमदवनेः श्रीमु-
- २८ । ङ्गिरिसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमसौगतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीविग्रहपा-  
लदेवपादानुध्यातः परमेश्वरः पर-
- २९ । मभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमन्नारायणपालदेवः कुशली । तीरभक्तकचवैष-  
थिकसुसम्बद्धाविच्छिन्नतलो-
- ३० । पेतमकुतिकाग्रामे समुपगतशेषराजपुरुषान् । राजरा-
- ३१ । नक । राजपुत्र । राजामात्य । महासाम्बिविग्रहिक । महाचपटलिक । म-
- ३२ । हासामन्त । महासेनापति । महाप्रतीहार । महाकर्त्ताकृतिक । महा-
- ३३ । दोःसाधसाधनिक । महादण्डनायक । महाकुमारामात्य । राजस्थानीयोपरिक ।  
दाशपराधिक । चौरोद्धरणिक
- ३४ । दाण्डिक । दाण्डपाशिक । शैलिक । गौलिक । ज्वेप । प्रान्तपाल । कोषपाल ।  
खण्डरच । तदायुक्तक । विनियुक्तक । हस्य-
- ३५ । श्वाङ्गनौबलयाष्टतक । किशोर । बडुवा । गोमहिष्यजाविकाश्च । द्रुतपेषणिक ।  
गमागमिक । अभिल्लमान । विषयपति ।
- ३६ । ग्रामपति । तरिक । गोद । मालव । खश । द्रुण । कुलिक । कञ्जाट । लाट । चाट ।  
भट । सेवकादीन् । अन्यांश्चाकीर्त्तितान् ।

- १७ । राजपादोपजीविनः प्रतिवासिनो ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् । मन्त्रमोक्षमपुत्रो गमेदान् च चण्डाल-  
पर्यन्तान् । यथाहं मानयति ।
- १८ । बोधयति । समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवतां । कलशपोते । महाराजाधिराज ।  
श्रीनारायणपालदेवेन खरंकारितसहस्रा-
- १९ । यतनस्य तत्र प्रतिष्ठापितस्य । भगवतः शिवभट्टारकस्य । पाशुपतश्चाचार्यपरिषदस्य ।  
यथाहं पूजावलिचरसचनवक-
- २० । स्नानार्थं । शयनासनस्नानप्रत्ययभैषज्यपरिष्कारार्थं । अन्येषामपि स्नाभिमतानां ।  
स्वपरिकल्पितविभागेन । अनवयमो-
- २१ । गार्थश्च । यथोपरिलिखितमकुतिका ग्रामः । स्वामीमाह्वयप्रतिगोचरपर्यन्तः । सतलः  
सादेशः । साक्षसंभूतः । सजल-
- २२ । खलः । सगर्तोपरः । सोपरिकरः । सदर्शोपचारः । सचौरोद्धरणः । परिहृतसर्व-  
पीडः । अचाटभटप्रवेशः । अकिञ्चि-
- २३ । त् प्रयास्कः । समस्तभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायसमेतः । भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्क-  
क्षितिसमकालं यावत् सानापि-
- २४ । चौरात्मनश्च पुण्यशोऽभिष्टब्धे । भगवन्तं शिवभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः ।  
ततो भवद्भिः सर्वैरवानु-
- २५ । मन्त्रं भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिर्मैदानफलगौरवादपहरणे च महानरकपातभया-  
दानमिदमनुमोद्य पालनीयं प्र-
- २६ । तिवासिभिः चैव करैश्चाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयीभूय यथाकालं मुचितभागभोगकरहिरण्या-  
दिसर्वप्रत्यायोपनयः का-
- २७ । र्य इति । संवत् १७ वैशाखदिने ९ तथा च धर्मानुशक्तिनः श्लोकाः । बद्धभिर्वस्तुषा  
भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
- २८ । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ षष्ठिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमि-  
दः । आक्षेप्ता चानुसन्ता च तान्येव न-
- २९ । रके वसेत् ॥ खदसात्परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वस्तुधरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा  
पिडभिः सह पच्यते ॥ सर्वानेतान् भाविनः
- ३० । पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयः प्रार्थयत्येष रामः । सामान्योऽयम्भर्मासेतुर्धपाणां काले काले  
पालनीयः क्रमेण ॥ इति क-
- ३१ । मलदलान्मृविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च  
बुद्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलो-
- ३२ । प्याः ॥ वेदान्तैरसुगमतमं (?) वेदिता ब्रह्मतथै (त्वं) यः सर्वान्श्रुतिषु परमः सार्द्ध-  
सङ्गैरपीती (ति) । यो यज्ञानां समुदितमहाभू-
- ३३ । क्षिणानां श्रेष्ठो भट्टः श्रीमानह स गुरवो दुतकः पुण्यकीर्तिः ॥ श्रीभक्ता मय-  
दासेन शुभदासस्य श्रु (स्त्र) नुना । इदं सा-
- ३४ । शनमुत्कीर्णं सत्यानन्दजन्मना ॥

## TRANSLATION.

Be it auspicious ! May Daśabala, whose heart is resplendent with the jewel of mercy, whose loved mistress is benevolence, whose mind was washed clean of the mud of book-learning by the pure water of the river of perfect Sambodhi knowledge, who, having conquered the promptings of desire \* \* \* acquired eternal fame,—may the Lord of the universe, prosper.

Now Go-pála Deva made his family the abode of prosperity. (Laksh-mí). Well able to sustain the weight of the earth, the only asylum of kings whose wings having been clipt by fear sought his protection, always devoted to protect honor, he was the home of heroism. Of him was born the auspicious king Dharma-pála, whose greatness was as beauteous as the ripple of the milky ocean. Having conquered Indrarāja and other kings, he (Dharma-pála) earned the glorious S'ri, goddess of fortune, whom he presented as a sacrifice to the father of wealth, Vāmana, the wielder of the discus.

Like Rāma, that saintly king had a brother of equal merit, in Vák-pála, who was in glory the counterpart of the son of Sumitrá (Lakshmana). This prince, the abode of justice and valour, living under the rule of his brother, placed all the quarters under one umbrella, by divesting them of all hostile armies.

Unto him was born a son named Jaya-pála, by whose imperial virtues the earth was sanctified. Overcoming all enemies to religion, he established his elder brother, the heroic Deva-pála, in the dominion of the earth. When by the order of his brother he issued forth to conquer, the lord of Utkala, oppressed from a distance by his very name, forsook his home. Bearing that prince's order on his head, the king of Prágjyotisha, trembling from fear, withdrawing his army, with all his dependents lived under him.

The auspicious Vighraha-pála, enemyless from birth, was born his son. His spotless sword was like the water which wiped away the beauty of the wives of his enemies. By him his enemies were made the objects of heavy misfortune, and his friends long-lived. Lajjá, the ornament of the Haihaya race, became his wife, even as the daughter of Jahnu (Ganges) is that of the Ocean, and her virtuous conduct alike purified her father's and her husband's race.

He, through the essence of the guardians of the quarters gave birth, in her, for the protection of the earth, to the auspicious Nárāyaṇa-pála Deva, the virtuous whose feet became resplendent by the light of the crown-jewels of kings. He has sanctified his throne by his justice. Kings, forsaking the Lainga Purāṇa, the source of the fourfold blessings, wish to follow his conduct. He is esteemed in the mind of good men, and confirmed (in his position) by his own dependents. By his charity he has suppressed in

his country the expression, "give, O king."\* Through his fear his sword, though dark as a blue lotus, appears flame-coloured to his enemies. He, by his wisdom and his own virtues, has kept the helpless earth always in the path of justice. Attaining his protection, beggars no longer turn their minds to seeking alms. Lord of wealth, doer of no wrong, patron of learned men, and endowed with great affluence, he is in his glory like unto a blazing fire (*anala*), and yet by his conduct he is like Nala.† His fame, bright as the rays of the autumnal moon, spread over the three worlds, wears a resplendence which even the loud laughter of Śiva cannot rival, and the garlands of Ketaki flowers on the hands of Siddha ladies (are so eclipsed that their existence can be ascertained only) by the hum of bees (about them). Two persons did say to two others, "let penance be mine and the kingdom thine;" once to him (Nārāyaṇa-pāla) by Vighraha-pāla, and once to Bhagiratha by Sagara.

In his victorious camp in Mudgagiri on the bank of the Bhāgirathī river, where he has made a bridge of boats, which seems to rival a line of rocky hills where the roaming of excessively dense (crowds of) elephants has so clouded the glory of day-light, as to produce the impression of an approaching rainy season, where the dust raised by the hoofs of the countless cavalry of the only king of the north, has covered the quarters, where the earth has sunk low by the weight of the innumerable kings of Jambudvīpa who had assembled to serve the great lord, the mighty sovereign, the supreme king among kings, the auspicious Nārāyaṇa-pāla Deva, the successor of the devout follower of Sugata, the supreme king among kings, the auspicious Vighraha-pāla Deva, prospers. To subordinate kings (rājārāṇaka), to princes (rājaputra), to the Prime Minister (rājāmātya), to the minister of Peace and War (mahā-sandhi-vighraṇika), to the Chief Justice (mahākṣha-pāṭalika) to the Generalissimo (mahāsāmanta), to chief commanders (mahasenāpati), to the grand warder (mahāpratihāra), to the chief investigator of all works (mahākartākritika), to the chief obviator of difficulties (mahādośasādhāsādhanaika), to the chief criminal judge (mahāḍaṇḍa-nāyaka), to chief minister of the heir-apparent (mahākumārāmātya), to viceroys (rājasthānino upādṛhika), to Investigators of crimes (dośāparādhika), to the chief detective officer (chorodddharanika), to the mace-bearers (dāṇḍika), to the keeper of the instruments of punishment (dāṇḍapāsika),

\* The words in the original are *Deyam me anga-rājan*; and the word *anga* may be taken as an interjection = O, or an adjective meaning chief, great or principal, or a noun, the name of a country including the western part of Bengal. In the last two cases the word *rājan* should change into *rāja* to be in Samāsa, the first is therefore the right meaning. But it has probably been used as a *double entendre*.

† Nala, the famous king of Vidarbha noticed in the Mahābhārata. The comparison is forced for the sake of the alliteration in the words *nala* and *anala*.

to collectors of customs (s'aulkika), to commanders of divisions (gaulmika), to supervisors of cultivation (kshetrapa), to boundary rangers (prántapála), to treasurers (koshapála), to superintendents of wards (khaṇḍa-raksha), to inspectors of wards (tadáyuktaka), to the superintendents of appointments (viniyuktaka), to the superintendent of elephants, horses, camels, and war-boats, (hastyaśva-nau-balavyáprítaka), to the superintendents of mares, colts, cows, buffaloes, sheep and goats (kisora-vaḍavá-go-mahishyajávikádhyaaksha), to the chief of swift messengers (drutapeshanika), to messengers (gamágamanika), to swift messengers (abhítvamána), to commissioners of districts (vishayapati), to head officers of villages (grámapati), to superintendents of boats (tarika), to (men of the different tribes of) Goda, Málava, Khaśa, Huna, Kulika, Kalláta, Láta, Cháta, and Bhaṭa,\*—to all servants and others who are not specified here, to all who have assembled here in the village of Mukuṭika in the division of Kuksha on the bank of the river, as also to the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, who live by service under the king, from the respected Bráhmaṇ to the lowest Meda, Andha and Chaṇḍála—to all these he sends appropriate greetings and acquaints and commands them. Be it known unto you that in the village of Kalá-sapota, where Nárāyaṇa-pála Deva himself has established thousands of temples, and where he has placed the honorable Śiva Bhaṭṭa and Pasupa-ti Áchárya, I, Nárāyaṇa-pála Deva, for purposes of due worship, for the offering of oblations *charu* and *yajnas*, for the performance of new ceremonies, and for the dispensation of medicines, bedding and seats, to diseased persons, and for the purpose of enabling them to enjoy without let or hindrance the village as defined, I have given the above-named village of Mukuṭika, along with its surrounding grazing-grounds, with all the waters and lands belonging to it, above and below the surface, together with the mango and the madhuka trees, with all its low and barren lands, along with its rents and tolls, including all fines for crimes, and rewards for catching thieves. In it there shall be no molestation, no passage permitted for *Chaṭas* (jugglers) and *Bhaṭas* (troops). The land shall not be a trouble (to the possessors) who shall have the enjoyment of all shares, privileges, gold &c., and other income. I grant this to be enjoyed as many years as there are holes in the earth, and as long as the sun and the moon shall endure, in order that the virtue and fame of my parents and of myself may be enhanced. I have given this edict engraved to you, honorable Śiva.

Be it then respected by all; and future kings, knowing the grievous sin that is incurred by destroying the great merit of grants-of-land, should uphold it. Let the neighbours and those who till the land, be obedient to

\* Bábu Pránnáth Pandit's paper on the Chittagong plate (*ante* XLIII, pp. 318f) and Mr. Westmacott's paper on the Tarpandighi plate, (*ante* XLIV, pp. 1f) contain many interesting notes on the meanings of these official titles.

my commands. They should render to the donees their respective shares, privileges, rent, gold and all other dues. Dated the 9th Vaisákha, Samvat 17.

The following are excerpts for those who dread the mandates of virtue :

The earth has been enjoyed by Sagara and many other kings. The fruit (of grants-of-land) belongs to him to whom the land belongs for the time.

The donor of land enjoys heaven for sixty thousand years. He who abrogates or prompts others to abrogate such a gift, suffers in hell for a like period.

He who resumes land given by him or others, becoming a worm, rots in ordure along with his forefathers.

Again and again doth Ráma entreat all future kings to protect this common bridge of virtue.

Knowing riches and life to be as unsteady as water on a lotus petal, no man should intentionally attempt to deprive another of his reputation.

Bhaṭṭa Gurava, the spiritual guide of the king, the proficient in the difficult knowledge of God through the Vedánta, versed in all the Vedas and the Vedángas, and the most proficient in the performance of sacrificial rites, has composed this. Mudgadása, son of Subhadása, an inhabitant of Sat-sámataṭa, has engraved this edict.





# I N D E X

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JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, PART I,

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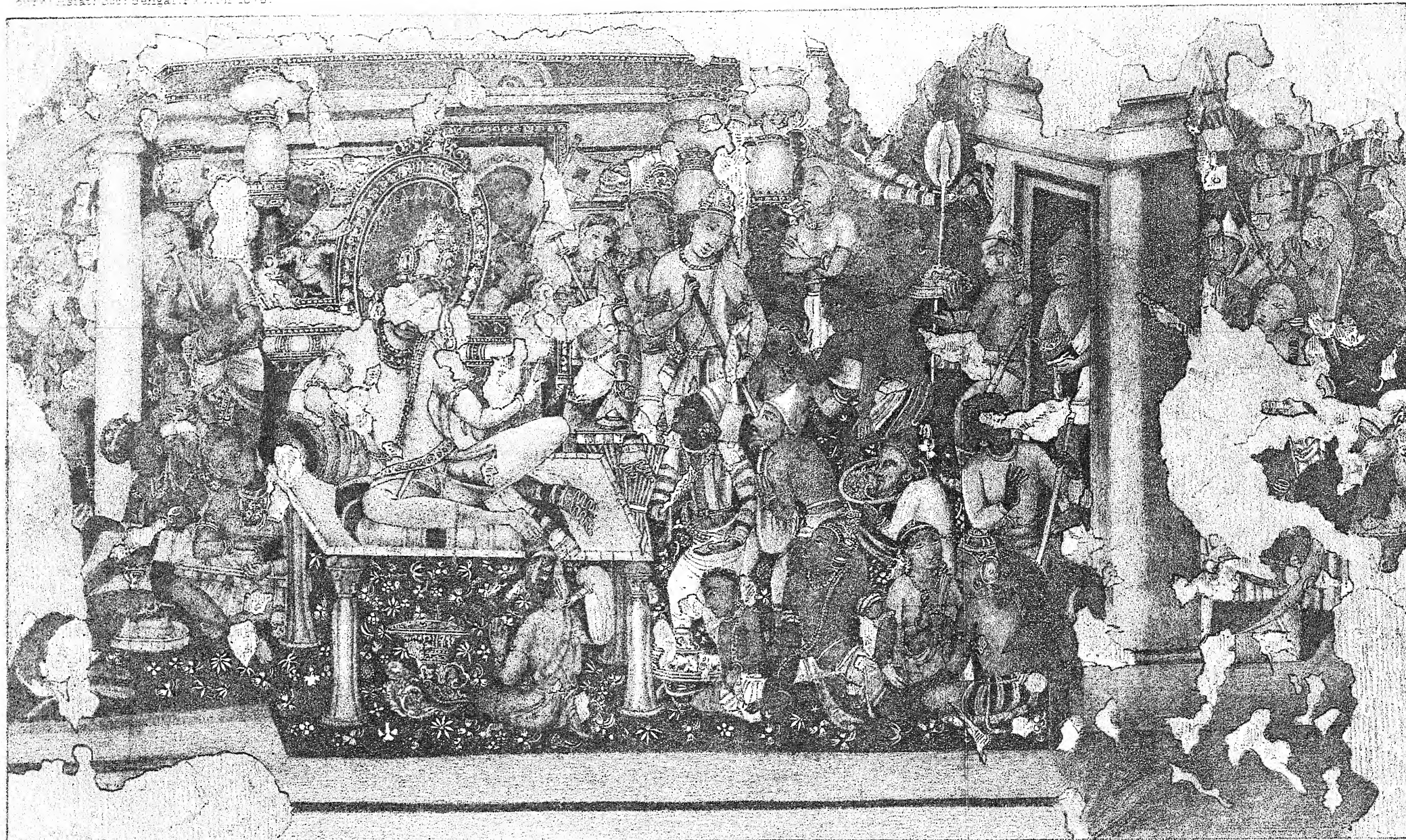
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5.

ARIANS (DARDS) OF THE UPPER INDUS.

1. and 2. People of Dárchik Village. 3. A woman from Dáh. 4. A man from the Rúshen, or husbandman caste from Dáh. 5. A man from the Rúzmat or artisan caste from Dáh.  
(The caps worn are all black.)



S. Sedgwick Lith.

A PERSIAN EMBASSY TO AN INDIAN COURT (FROM AJANTĀ).





A BACTRIAN DOMESTIC SCENE FROM AJANTÁ.



A BACTRIAN DOMESTIC SCENE FROM AJANTÁ.



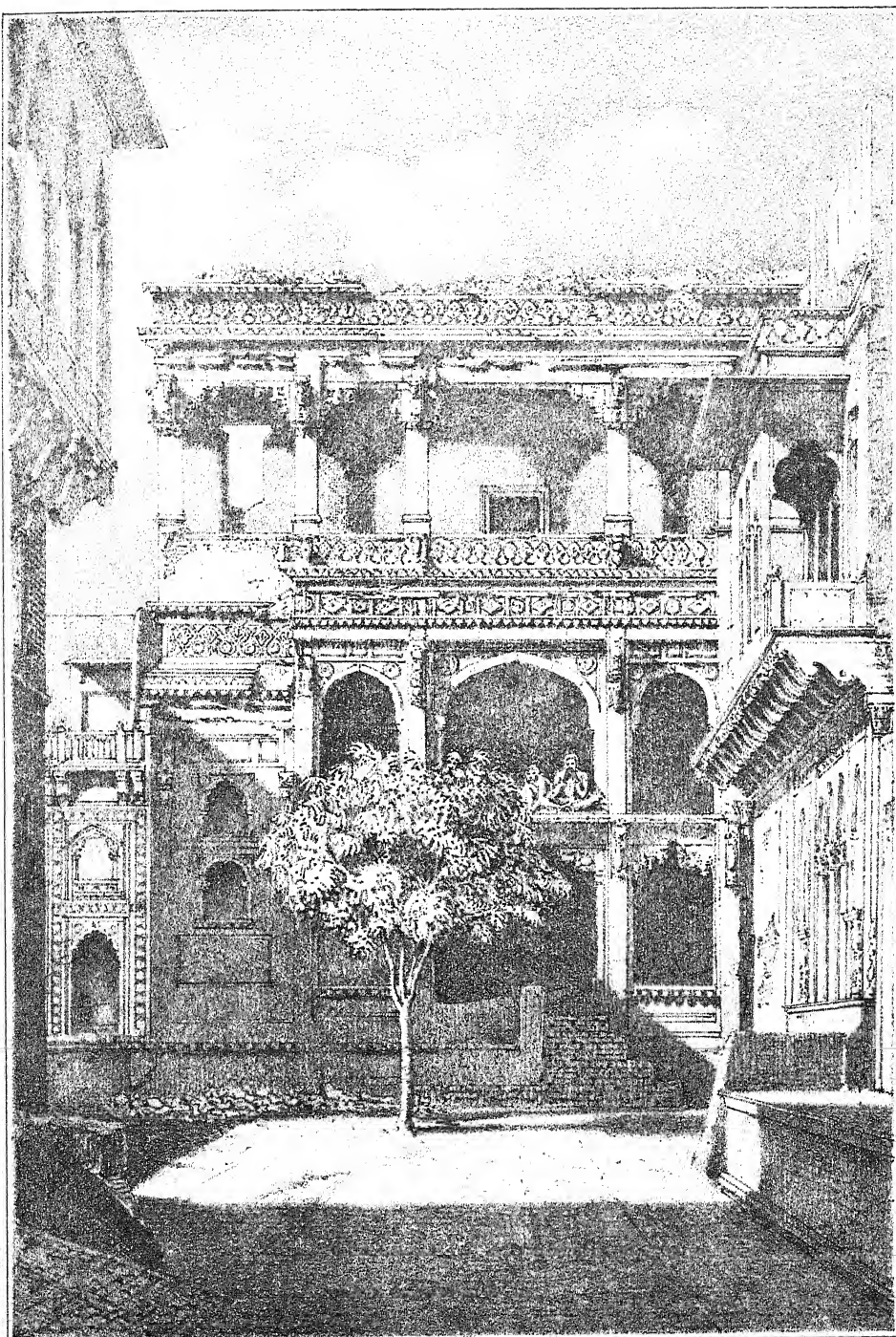
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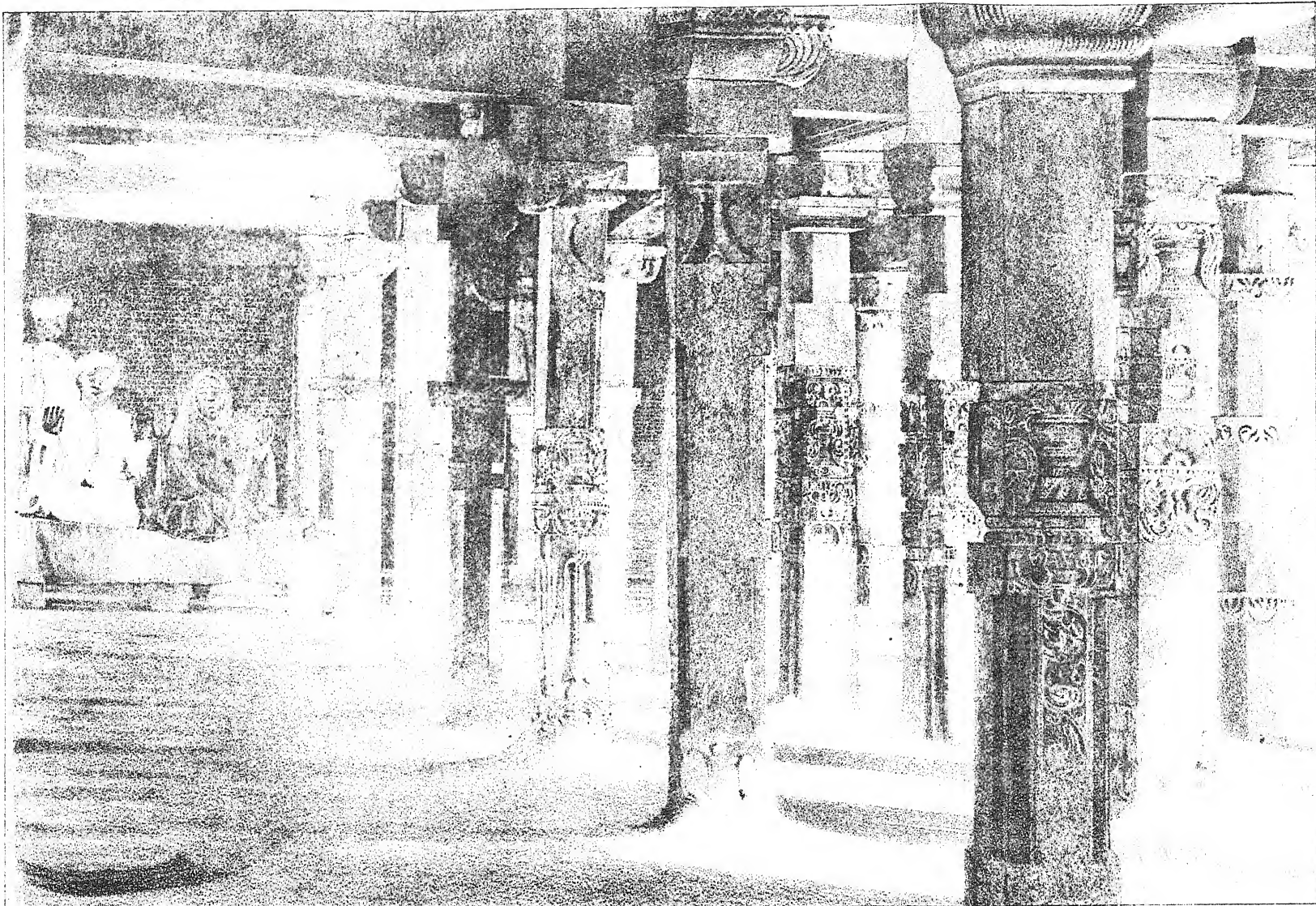
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A COPPER PLATE GRANT FROM BANDAH.

( Samvat 1190, or A. D. 1135. )



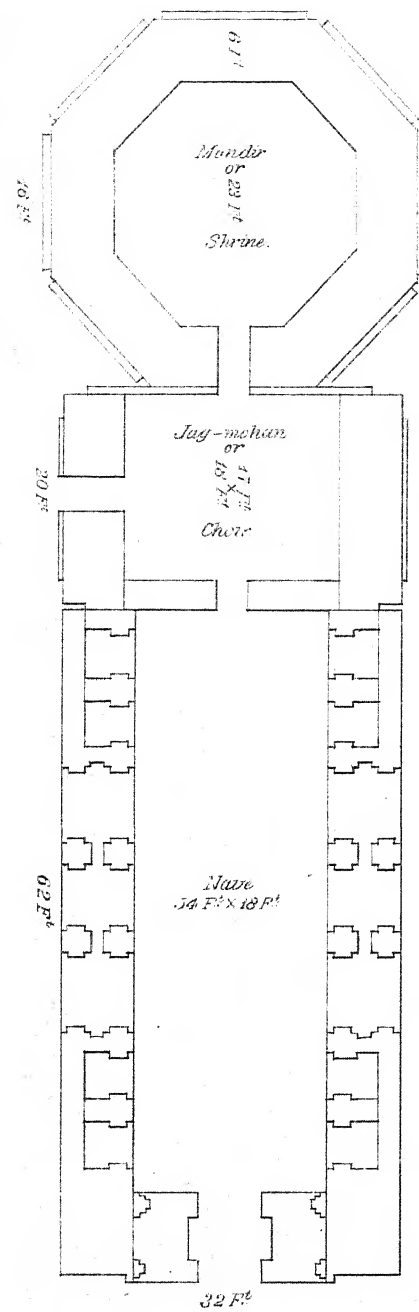




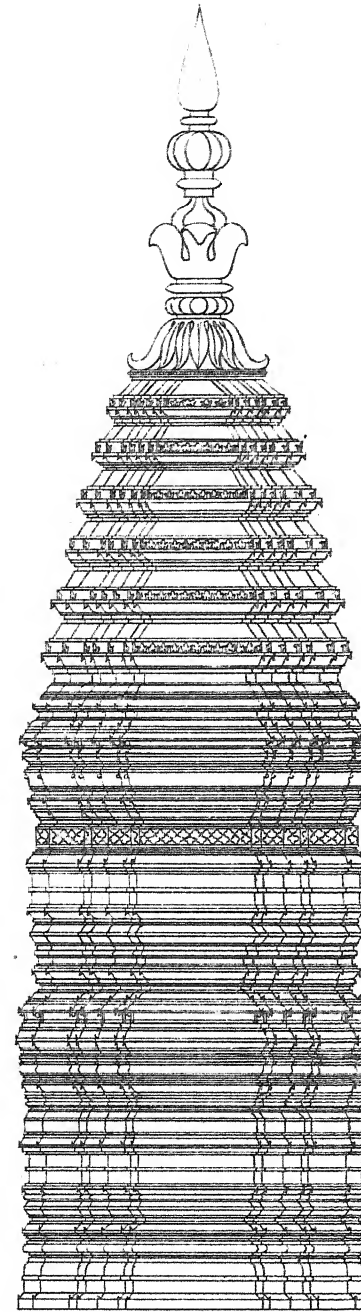
THE CHHATTHI PALNA, AT MAHARAN.

(From a Photograph.)

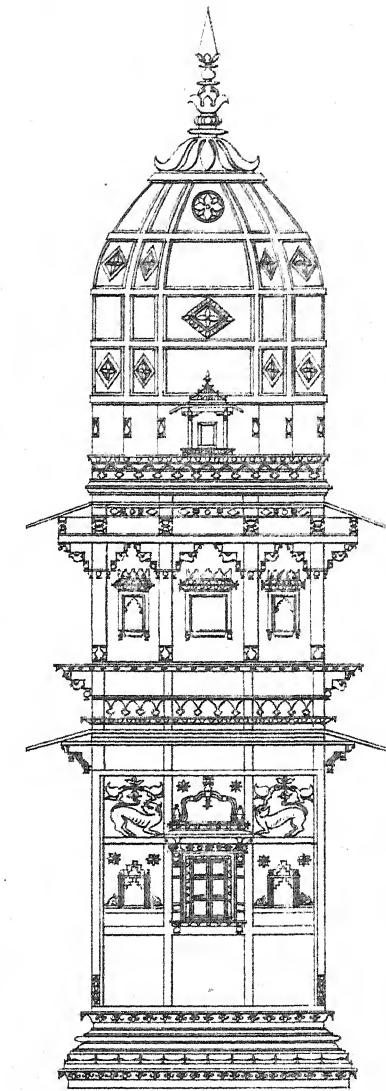




GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF  
RÁDHÁ BALLABH AT BRINDÁBAN.



RESTORED ELEVATION OF THE SIKHARA OVER THE JAG-MOHAN,  
TEMPLE OF GOBIND DEVA, BRINDÁBAN.



RESTORED ELEVATION OF  
THE SATI BURJ, MATHURÁ.



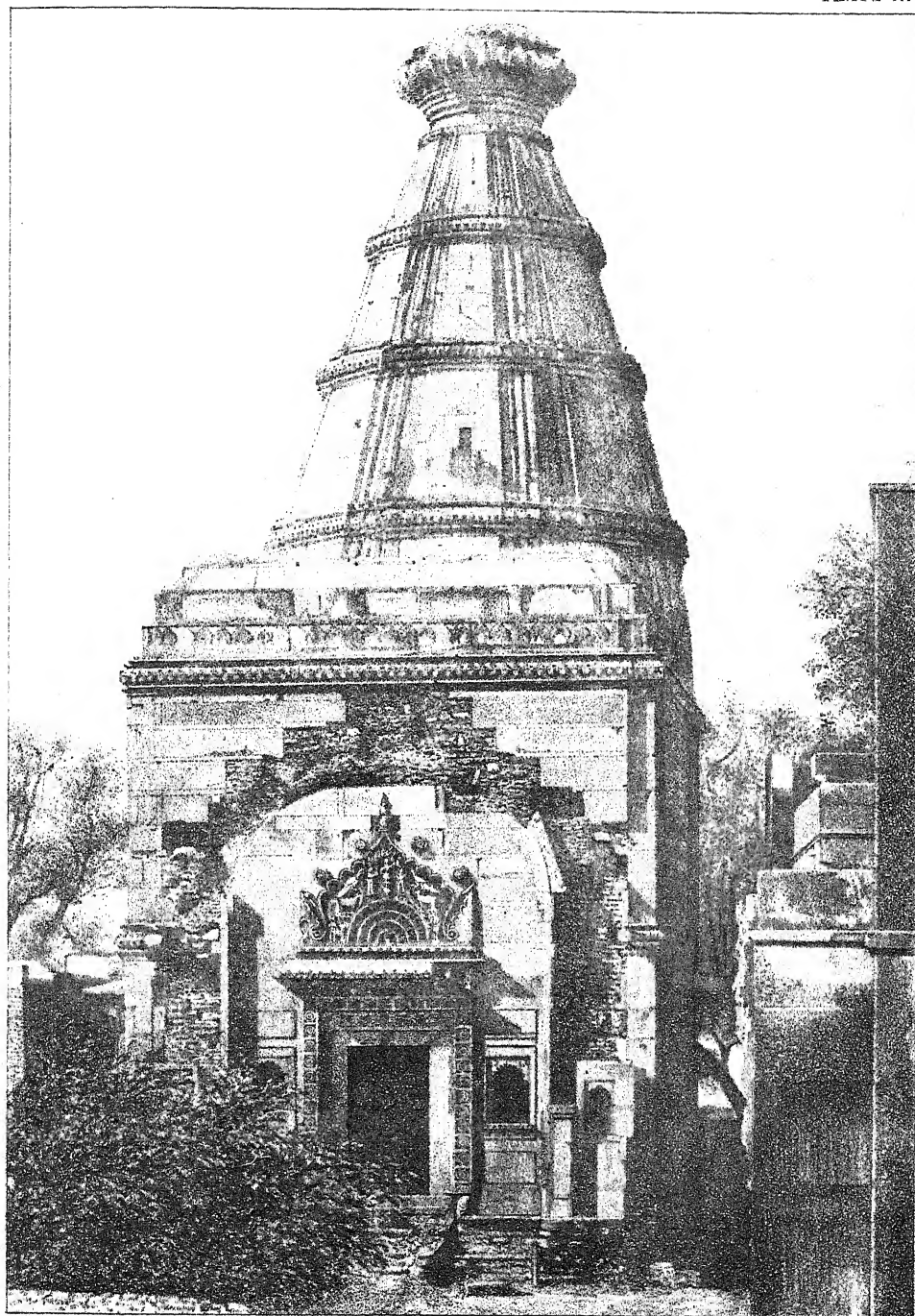




THE SATI BURJ, MATHURA.

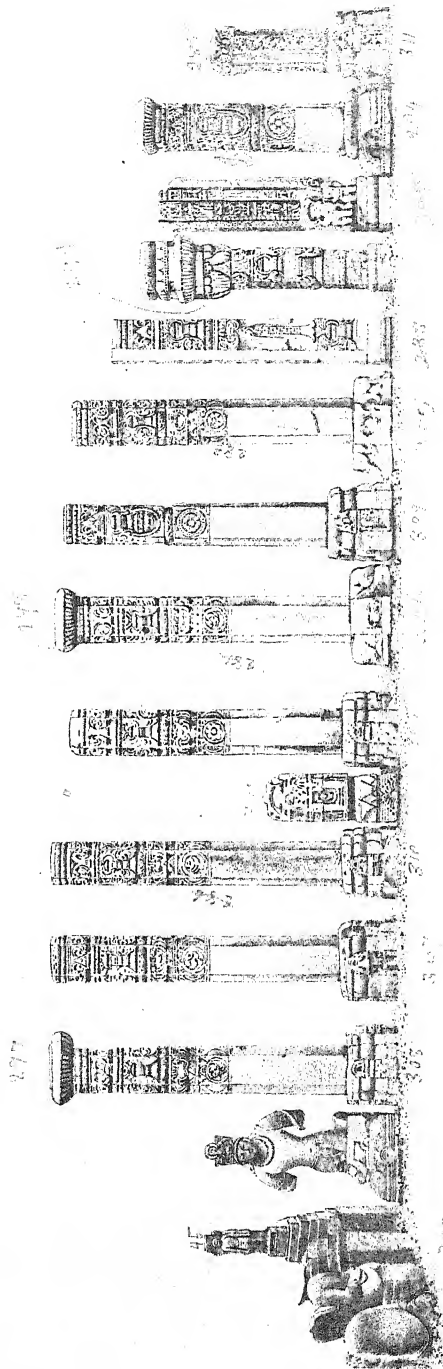
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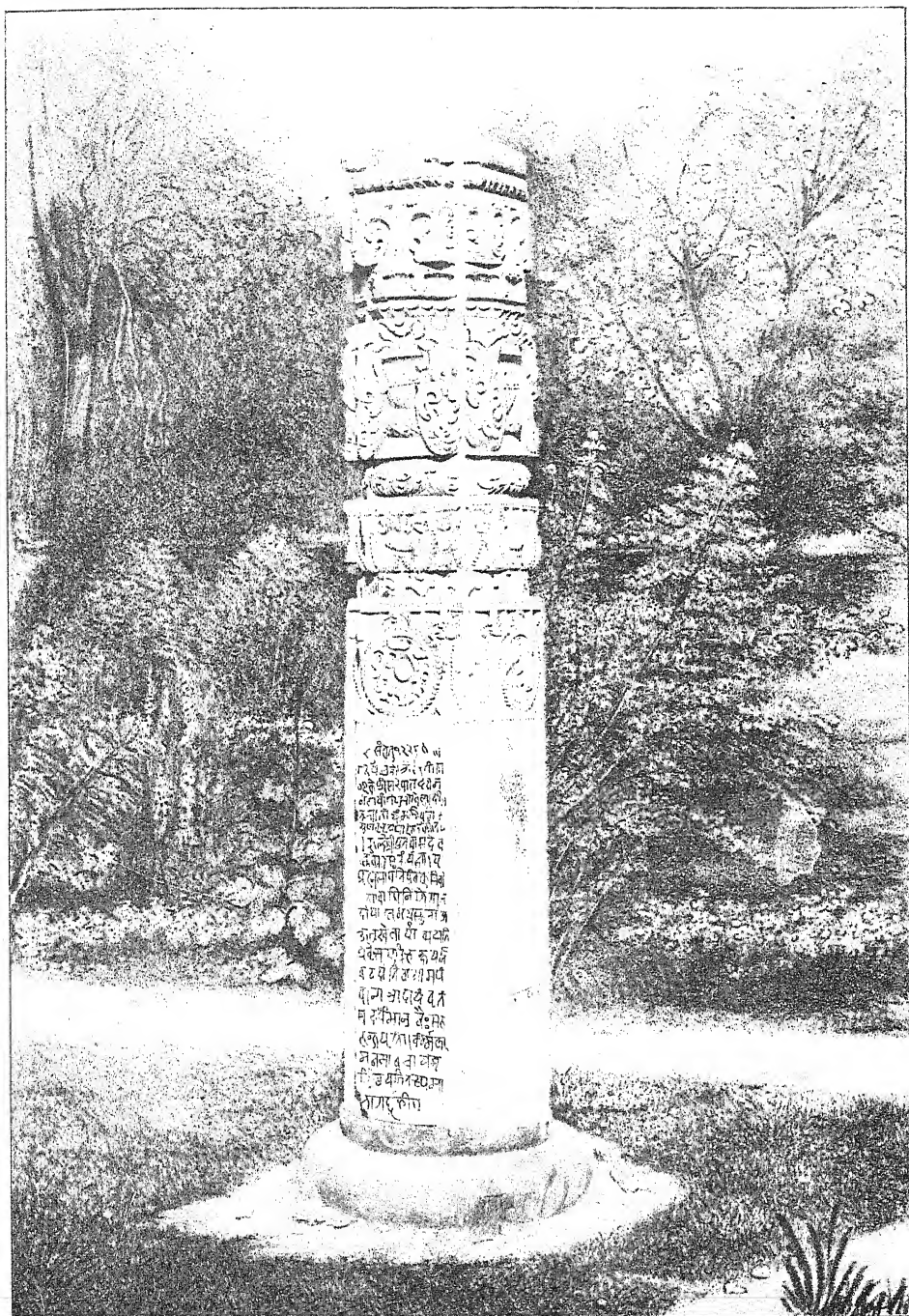
TEMPLE OF JUGAL KISHOR AT BRINDABAN.







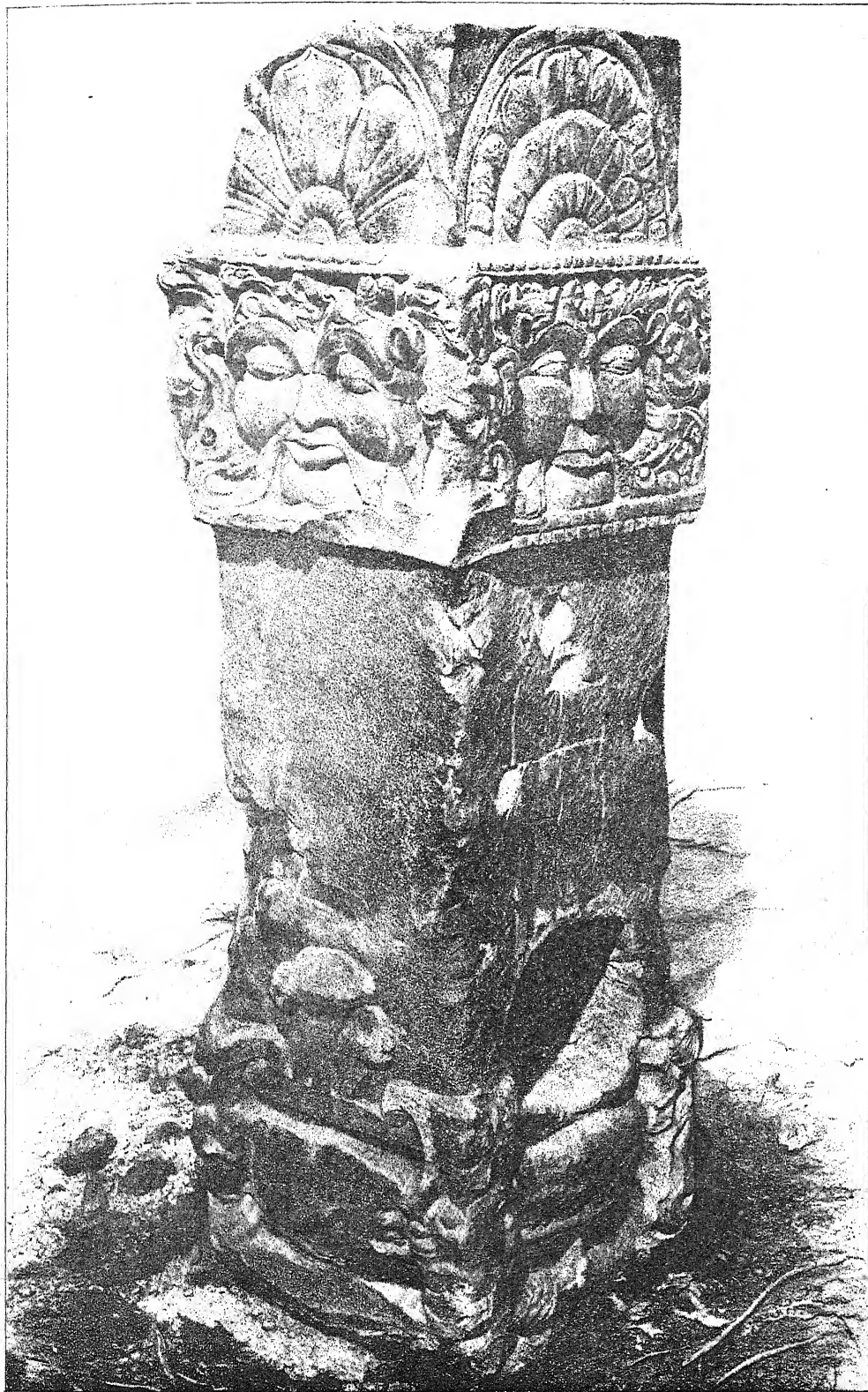




INSCRIBED PILLAR FROM SAHAR

(From a Photograph.)





PILLAR WITH GROTESQUE MASK. FROM ALLAHABAD.

( From a Photograph. )



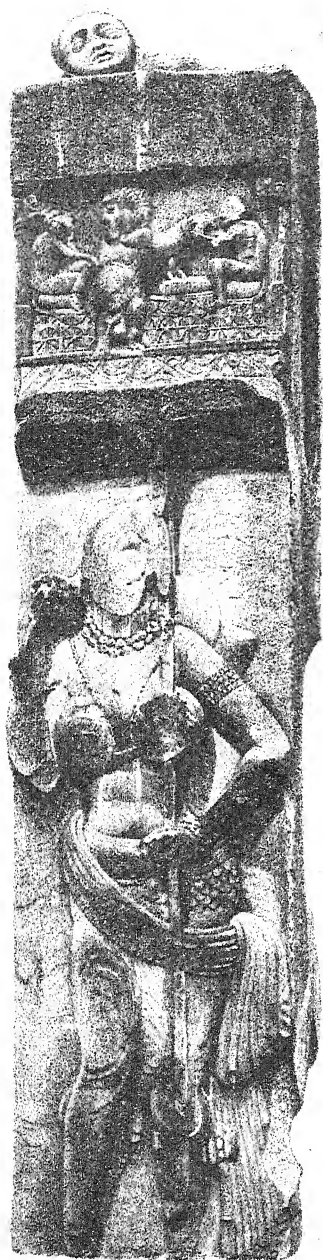


BUDDHIST RAILS, MATHURA.

(From a Photograph.)



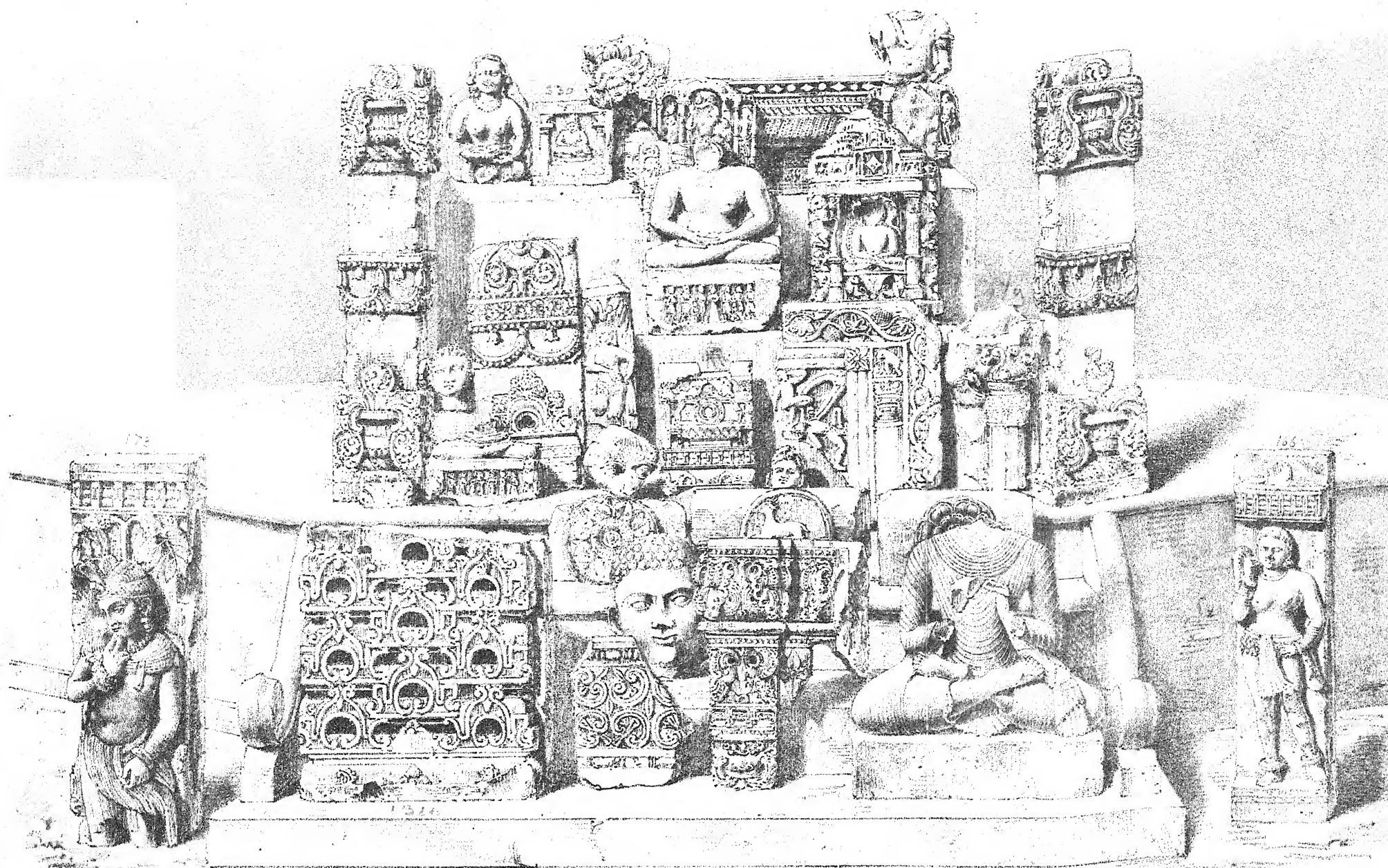




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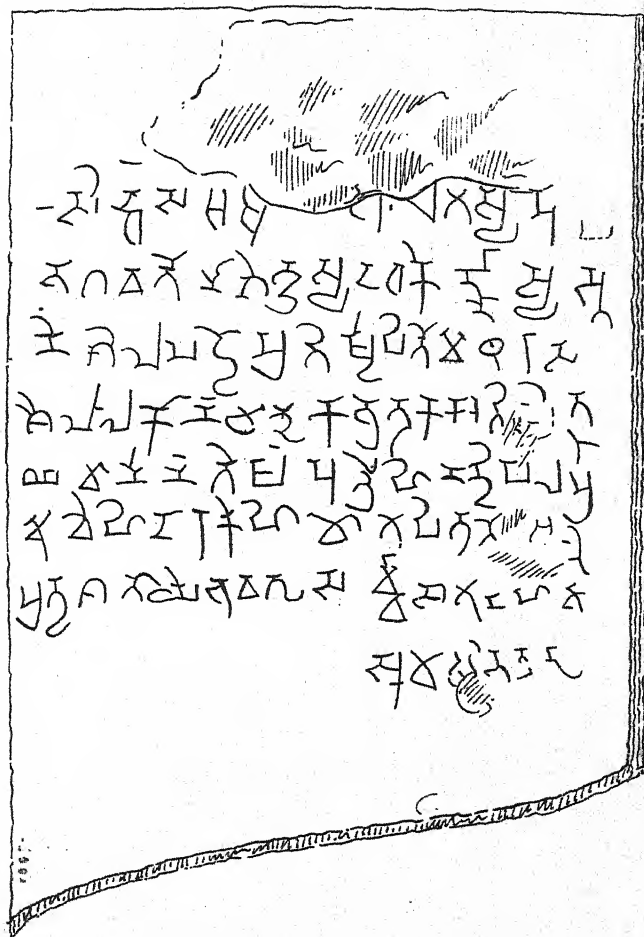
BUDDHIST RAIL FROM THE BHUTESVAR TILA, MATHURA.

(From a Photograph.)



MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES  
MATHURÁ MUSEUM.





INSCRIBED SLAB,  
Found at Mathura in 1878.

उवाच ॥ अथ भगवन् प्रवक्ष्यामि ॥  
नमो भगवते ॥ अथ भगवन् प्रवक्ष्यामि ॥

Zincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

PALI INSCRIPTION,  
Found at Mathura.







SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT VASU DEVA.

SON OF MĀNICK CHANDRA. FIG. 2.





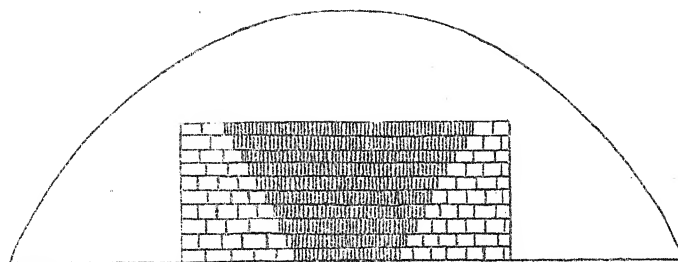


Fig. 3.  
Haris Chandra Raja's Tomb.

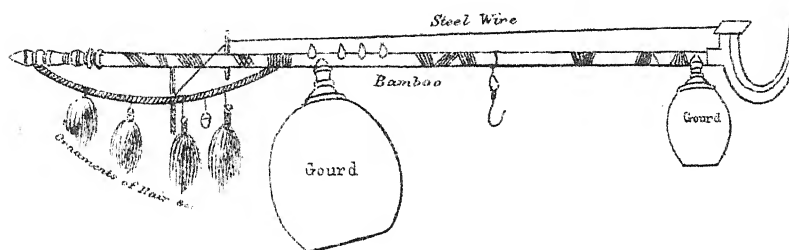


Fig. 4  
Saringa or Tambura.

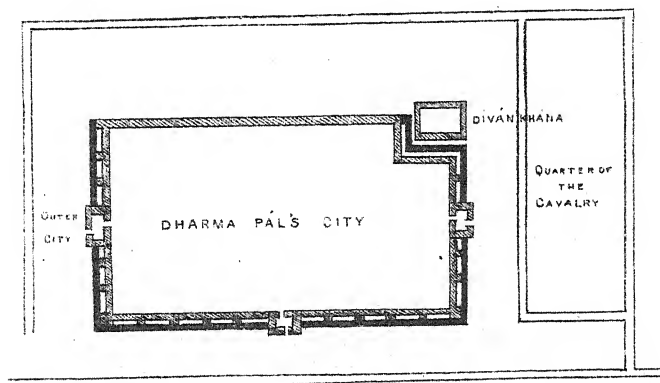


Fig. 1.





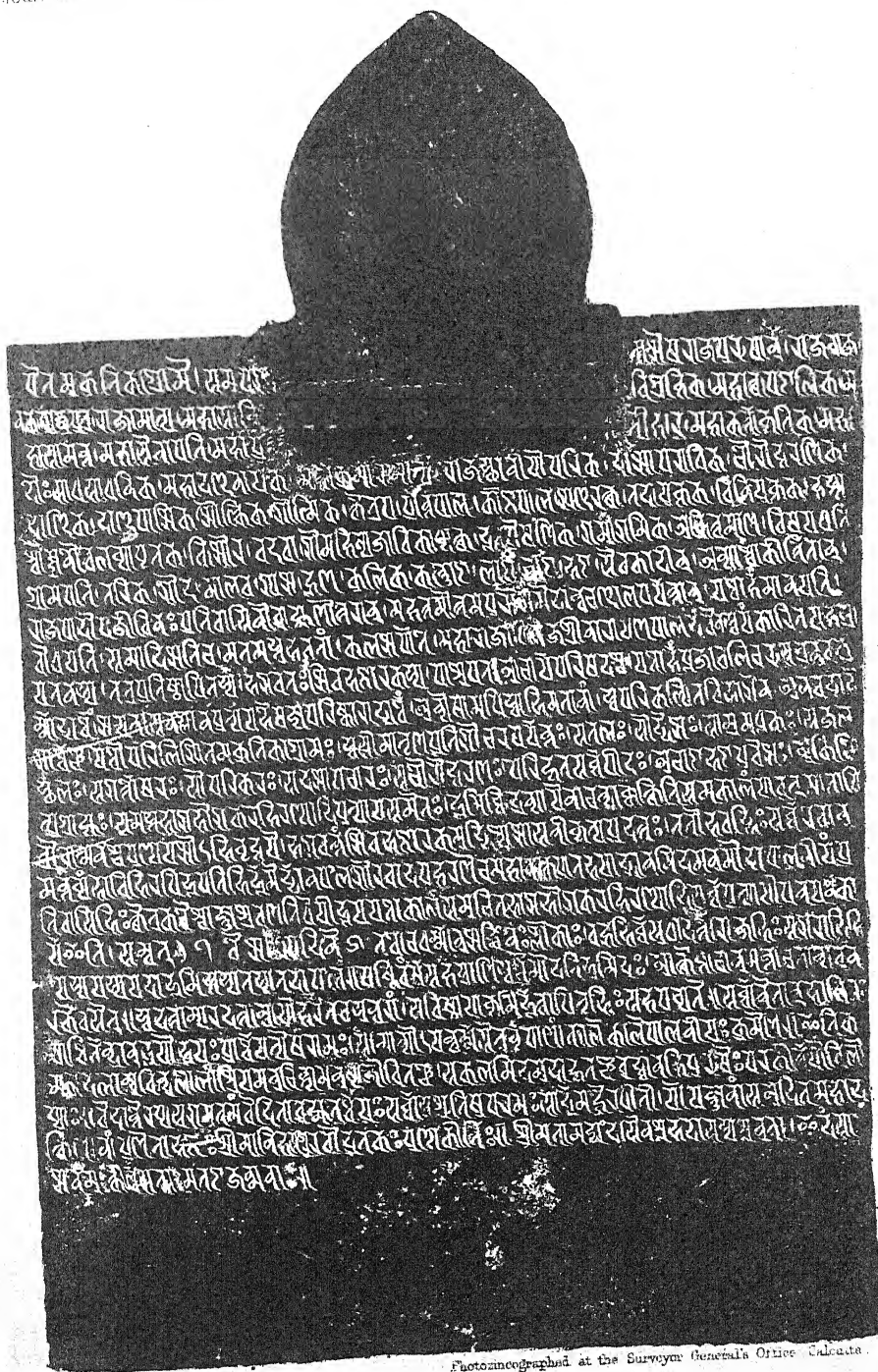
Photocircographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta.

FACSIMILE OF THE OBERSE OF A COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION FROM BHAGALPUR.

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Photocnecographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

FACSIMILE OF THE REVERSE OF A COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION FROM BHAGALPUR